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The ethics of photojournalistic alteration: An integrated schema of determinants.

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THE ETHICS OF PHOTOJOURNALISTIC ALTERATION: AN INTEGRATED SCHEMA OF DETERMINANTS

by

Paula J. Habas

A Thesis submitted to
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through the Department of Communication Studies
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ABSTRACT

Why is the issue of manipulative practices in photojournalism important and why should it be studied? It is important because photographs are powerful iconic mediums that play a vital informative role in our public and private lives. It is worth studying because both history and popular lore have encouraged us to view photographs as direct, unmediated transcriptions of the real world. Since the introduction of photography, viewers have vested the medium with a level of authority and credibility unparalleled by other modes of communication. The iconic similarity of the photograph to its subject masks the distinction between image and reality, and obscures the significance of the picture–making and picture–altering processes in the construction of a photographic message. Photojournalist's photographs are particularly influential sources of information because of their status in newspapers and news magazines. If readers assume, as historical evidence suggests, that viewers trust that photographs correspond to a real situation, that they are windows to the real world, then accurate and fair re–presentations of news events should, and must be, of primary importance.

From photography's inception, the public has been encouraged to accept the premise that the photograph was an objective and truthful record. This expectation is an important reason why photographic alteration in news has always been an ethical issue. Our review of how photojournalists have attempted to understand photographic/image alterations and secure truthfulness in their work has led us to examine the history of photographic technology and its influence on news reportage (Chapter One); the evolution of ethical awareness in photojournalism (Chapter Two); the complex range of Digital Imaging (DI) technology and other techniques associated with image alteration (Chapter

Three); and finally, the industry's views on photojournalism ethics and the appropriate use of photographic techniques in news representation (Chapter Four).

Chapters One through Four gradually disclose some foundations for making ethical evaluations. Practitioners themselves and commentators have identified a number of these elements and principles within the domain of photo–image ethics usually in a piecemeal and disconnected fashion. What we have done in this thesis is to identify and highlight the ethical determinants which slowly emerged over one and a half centuries within the profession and examine these elements in their interconnectedness. This thesis is an early attempt to weave together the thoughts, suggestions, and written treatments surrounding the issue of photographic alteration in news reportage, and to present these determinants in a clearer, more integrated approach. On this historical base, this thesis supplies an integrated three–tiered approach to formulating a schema of ethical determinants related to photographic adjustment culminating in a broad statement about the central and continuous responsibility of the photojournalistic agent. This approach takes seriously into account (1) the metaphysical elements of the image, (2) the importance para–image factors play in the ethics of photographic alteration, and (3) the responsibility of the photojournalistic community. A photograph is no guarantee of a corresponding pre–photographic existent. It is the reputation of the photographer and his or her publication that produces the social expectation that the photograph is truthful, accurate, and meaningful, and that it corresponds to the reality of a news story.

DEDICATION

To my parents Mike and Jo Habas,
To my late grandparents Andrew and Mary Osowski and John and Balbina Habas,
To my brother Mitchell and his wife Cheryl,
and to all those who have in some way assisted and made the realization of my Master's degree possible, I thank you and I love you all.

A special thanks and debt of gratitude to my mother for believing in me even when I doubted myself. This thesis is as much yours as it is mine.

To Danielle and my God-daughter Jaclyn, I hope this thesis serves as a source of inspiration. I hope that one day my name will appear in both of your thesis'. I adore and love you both.

To Andrea, my dear and supportive sister (for whom, technically speaking, my M.A. beats her LL.B.), thank you for everything. Your generosity and support has made all the difference. Squish, Squish and all that stuff.

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INTRODUCTION

Prior to returning to university I worked as a professional photographer in Toronto, Canada. My area of expertise was optical special effects, a manipulative practice once done by artisan hands which is now done by digital imaging technologies and computer artists. I was the person others would come to to 'fix' a photograph or to enhance an 'aesthetically challenged' image. In late 1988 I was approached by a major manufacturing company to produce a single photograph of all of the members of the Board of Directors for their annual stockholders report. The reason they chose to use me was that there was a problem: They could not get all their members together for a single sitting. They were prepared to fly me to three cities to take three separate group photographs, return to my studio and magically make it appear as if they all were together at the 1/100th of a second the photograph was shot.

I did the job, my client was pleased, and I was rewarded handsomely for my work. What I did not do at the time or for many months later, was to ask myself whether I had done the right thing.

At first glance perhaps my actions did not worry me. After all, I was a freelance photographic artist earning an honest living and making my clients happy. Maybe too, the firm realized that it was cost efficient to use my services. Perhaps they could not spare the time and expense to fly ten board members to Toronto for a single sitting, feed, and accommodate them; then fly them back to their regional offices and districts. Is what I did any different than what *New York Newsday* did on its front page of February 16, 1994, when it shot two separate photographs of Olympians Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding, and pasted the two women's images so as to make them appear together before either had set foot on the ice of Lillehammer? (Wheeler, Gleason, 1995). Is what I did any different from what *National Geographic* magazine did in it's 1982 series 'A Day in the Life of America', when it digitally compressed a horizontal photo of a cowboy and moon to fit the vertical format of the book? (Parker, 1988).

I do not want to risk making the montage or the compressed photo special cases of manipulation of otherwise truthful photographic elements. On a more subtle level we have to see that *every* photograph is the result of specific and, in every sense, significant adjustments which render its relation to any prior reality deeply problematic. The simple idea that a photograph 're-presents'[1] a three dimensional *reality* onto a two dimensional plane complicates any assertions that there is *truth* in photographic images. To make a photograph, the projected image of an object has to be focused, cropped, and distorted by the flat, rectangular plate of the camera which owes its structure not to the human eye, but to a particular theoretical conception of the problems of representing space in two dimensions. Hence, by manipulating any mechanical variable (e.g., shutter speed, film speed, or focal length) an altered image will result. This is problematic for photojournalists and photo-editors since they are part of a profession that ranks truth and accuracy as premier values. It is also problematic for those who must determine what is permissible given the inherent unavoidability of two dimensionality, the history of allowing certain types of technical/mechanical manipulations, and a human tendency toward individual artistic expression.

This thesis begins with the premise, historically supported, that photojournalists and photo-editors have a public trust, a covenant, as it were, with their readers. Readers generally expect that photographers will provide viewers with just and accurate representations of the realities they are sent to cover, whether by mechanical/chemical processes or digital/computer technologies. The photojournalist's photograph differs from other categories of photographs since it is a professionally established form of information gathering and news coverage

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1 The term 're-present' suggests moving beyond the flattened out, two dimensional sense of 'representation' to recapture anew and accurately events, faces, objects and situations.

and, as such, it is a socially, politically, and culturally consequential medium. It is also an inference–nudging medium that must be monitored for possible abuses and misuses. While historically photography has had a reputation of truthful re–presentation, it is possible, particularly with the advent of newer technologies such as digital imaging (here after referred to as DI technology), that there could be an even greater potential threat to the observance and tradition of the public trust. It is the aim of this thesis to argue that a photojournalist's photograph should, and must be, *a just image*, not *just an image*. As members of an honourable profession, the photojournalist accepts this responsibility as well as the *burden of representation* (*italics added*, Tagg, 1988).

Photographic manipulation is not new, but never before has it been so flawless and fast. Recent developments in computer technology now make it possible for a photographer to, "shoot a picture, view it, and send it anywhere in the world – within seconds. A newspaper editor can receive the image, enter it into a computer, and then integrate it into a page design" (Korbe, 1991, p. 258). Digital imaging technology optically scans the photographer's image and stores that information digitally. An agent, a computer operator or photo-editor, can then call up the file, and rearrange the stored digits so as to produce a radically different picture. Depending on the philosophical and ethical stance of the photographer and the photo-editor, their commitment to ethical codes, and the category of photograph, digital imaging or DI technology can be used for a variety of design purposes. Some agents use the DI technology solely for speed and for corrective purposes (correction of transmission errors, colour correction, removal of dust, processing errors, mechanical difficulties). Others use DI technology to aesthetically enhance photographic images (flattening or lightening contrast, darkening or lightening foreground/background, softening of image). Others

actively engage in recontructing the initial image. Digital imaging technology, unlike its predecessor, silver based film and chemical processing, allows the photographer to reconstruct the initial image (adding or subtracting digitally recorded elements thereby affecting the physical relationships of the objects represented, darkening or blurring backgrounds, or cropping them out entirely, thereby removing or altering vital contextual information)[2]. Such uses of "digital retouching" or "electronic manipulation" have created controversy and discussion about their appropriateness in various settings.

A photograph, then, is no guarantee of a corresponding pre–photographic existent. The indexical nature of the photograph – the causative link between the pre–photographic referent and the sign – is highly complex and technical, and may guarantee little or nothing at the level of referential meaning (Tagg, 1988). It is the reputation of the photographer and his or her publication that produces the social expectation that the photograph is truthful, accurate, and meaningful, and that it corresponds to the reality of a news story. What makes the photojournalist's photograph an acceptable piece of evidence is, then, a much larger context – the *technical, social, cultural, historical,* and *ethical* process in which particular optical and digital devices are set to work to organize experience and produce a new reality.

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2 Traditional photographic technology uses silver based film that reacts to light to record images on first-generation negatives. Manipulation of objects is restricted by the older silver based film technology to either pre–staging an event and/or manipulation of negatives. Any manipulation of a negative results in a second–generation negative (and its components) is distinguishably less brilliant than the original. In digital imaging technology, everything in a digitally recorded picture is described by a set of numbers. The computer can easily copy those numbers– allowing the computer to precisely replicate a part of a picture and reproduce that part of the image somewhere else. This technique is called "cloning" and it is undetectable (Lubar, 1993; Korbe, 1991; Upton, 1989).

Why is the issue of manipulative practices in photojournalism important and why should it be studied? It is important because photographs are powerful iconic mediums that play a vital informative role in our public and private lives. It is worth studying because,

> both history and popular lore have encouraged us to view photographs as direct, unmediated transcriptions of the real world, rather than seeing them as coded symbolic artifacts whose form and content transmit identifiable points of view . . . Since the introduction of photography, viewers have vested the medium with a level of authority and credibility unparalleled by other modes of communication. The iconic similarity of the photograph to its subject masks the distinction between image and reality, and obscures the significance of the picture–making process in the construction of a photographic message. . . [M]ost contemporary viewers continue to think of the photograph as a transparent window on the world, capturing the reality in front of the camera lens (Schwartz, 1992, p. 95, 96).

Photojournalist's photographs are particularly influential sources of information because of their status in newspapers and news magazines. If readers assume, as Dona Schwartz has, that viewers trust that photographs correspond to a real situation, that they are windows to the real world, then accurate and fair re–presentations of news events should, and must be, of primary importance.

Lorraine Code addresses such matters in her book *Epistemic Responsibility* (1987). Although Code makes no specific mention of news photography in her book, her approach to knowledge enquiry and the responsibility of the knower in the process plays a central role in the development of this thesis's methodological approach to the ethics of image manipulation in photojournalism. It does this through supplying a theoretical model of responsibility which will help us tie together the present framework of fragmentary and piecemeal progression in the area of photo/image ethics. The universal appeal of Code is her reconciliation of existing theories of knowledge and approaches to enquiry which outlines a

responsible approach to knowledge claims, one that underscores the responsibility of the knower and those responsible for out perceptions. Her approach best fits the aim of this thesis which is to argue that a photojournalist's photograph should, and must be, *a just image*, not *just an image*. Consistent with correspondence theory of truth (since the correspondence theory is the one implied in virtually all discussions of photographic integrity), Code yields a new perspective on the knowledge seeking enterprise. "The goal of enquiry might be described . . . as that of arriving, by a process of inductive inference, at the best total explanatory account" (Code, 1987, p. 5). She stresses that *good knowing* or *knowing well* and a fundamental respect for realism (the core of the correspondence, coherence, and pragmatic theories of truth) is a worthwhile academic endeavor. "Science is one sort of knowledge among many, albeit an important and distinctive sort. But it is not a paradigm for knowledge in general, such that only those methodologies modeled upon it merit philosophical respect" (p. 67). Extending the focus of epistemological enquiry to include a study of intellectual virtue and epistemic responsibility, Code believes that the confidence that can be extended to knowledge claims can be enhanced, even when absolute certainty is unattainable. Aristotle observes that "an educated person will expect accuracy in each subject only so far as the nature of the subject allows" (p. 67). Likewise Code urges us to be reasonable in our expectations so not to impede genuine possibilities of insight by imposing unattainable goals.

Code's theory of epistemic responsibility applies at two levels in this thesis. First, it applies directly to the photograph and its use. The photograph, as a visual imprint of events, scenes, and persons poses as a truthful record thereof. The degree to which that representative role is or is not respected is ultimately a function of the agent's epistemic responsibility – where agent is either the

photographer, the photographic editor or the digital compositor. Chapter One will demonstrate that this quality of ethical accountability is greatly underscored by the long history of assumed truthfulness in the photograph, a continuous assumption which dates back to the beginning of photography itself. Epistemic responsibility, this thesis will argue, is also the ultimate and the unifying feature which dominates and co–determines the ethical impact of other features (e.g., staging; cropping; digital inventions).

Second, Code's notion of epistemic responsibility and knowing well applies *reflexively* to the work of this thesis itself. The decision to study the ethics of photographic alteration and digital imaging in a serious academic fashion instantiates the responsibility of the communication theorist. That in turn takes the form of extending the analysis of image ethics beyond its present fragmentary status in order to secure, if possible, a more unified and systemic response to modern photographic alteration and its uses. That responsibility unfolds as an academic undertaking to situate image alterations within a history of the profession and its evolving ethical consciousness; and it emerges in the penultimate chapter (Chapter Five) as a synthesis which centralizes agent's intent. The explicit acknowledgment of this reflexive research application serves to underscore the unifying role of Code's notion of epistemic accountability both in the profession and in the attempt to formulate its ethical involvement.

In sequence, then, Chapter One of this thesis documents the history of photographic technology with an emphasis on photography's reputation for re–presenting reality. This requires a historical analysis of the development and proliferation of the medium, and its technological advances in a wider political, social, cultural, and ethical context. Technology is not developed, or adopted by the public, in a social vacuum. Examination of the complex historical context into

which media are introduced provides some guidance into understanding how they have come to take on the social and cultural forms we are familiar with today.

Knowing well, we have said, also includes studying the issue of photographic ethics historically in order to get clear what photographers and photojournalists themselves have thought and said about their craft, and what, if any, protocols and practices they have developed. Chapter Two then examines the often fragmented and chaotic history of the growing awareness of ethical issues in photojournalism. It looks to the words and writings of photographers and photojournalists themselves for their incipient ethical concepts. What the literature review yields is a piecemeal approach to photographic/image ethics that has brought with it no systematic or sustained attempt to organize, categorize, and develop a coherent theoretical approach to the study. It is the intent of this thesis to fill this lacuna by offering a theoretically unifying approach to the study of image ethics in photojournalism.

One of the welcome results of the historical review of photographic technology and the literature review of photographic ethics is that it allows us to layout a taxonomy of photo related terms and concepts along with a typology of their appropriate use. Chapter Three of this thesis attempts to itemize and classify the kinds of adjustments and manipulations available to photographers in order to secure a common, workable language with regard to image manipulation and deception. Pictorial misrepresentation is a category distinct from conventional verbal misrepresentation, and has created difficulties for more than one writer. If we wish to explore the 'truthfulness' of pictorial content in newspapers and magazines, the range and language of visual adjustments must be identified, translated, and agreed upon. "Like any language, pictorial language has its own

codes, symbols, nuances, signs, metaphors, ambiguities and the like" (Richards, Zakia, 1981, p. 117).

There is a general assumption that photographs appearing in reputable newspapers and magazines are truthful and accurate. This assumption is problematic. Many of the photographs appearing in so–called reputable newspapers and magazines have been altered in some manner. Some of the adjustments seem innocuous, they appear not to have affected the integrity of the photograph in any way. Other adjustments are more injurious to the narrative[3] integrity of the photograph. Why do photojournalists alter photographs? Part of the answer can be found in how the photojournalist(s) and photo-editor(s) envision themselves and their role. Strict subscribers to the realist notion of re–presentation do not believe that photographs should be altered, at all[4]. Other photojournalists and photo-editors see the photograph as offering the reader more than a record of an event. They see the photograph as offering the reader a generalization and therefore do not feel bound by rigid epistemic standards. This group tolerates a wider latitude of adjustments and alterations. The majority of photojournalists and photo-editors practicing in the industry tend to fall under this latter category. All of this is made clear in the findings of Chapter Four in which the news industry's attitudes and views toward the appropriateness of photographic alteration and manipulation are surveyed. The industry's views and practices concerning image adjustment and manipulation are extremely important

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3 Narrativity, in this thesis, denotes the story – – the unfolding of events and experiences – – presented in or suggested by the image and its elements (including context). Typically, the frozen moment in the photo implies a before and after.lements.
4 Many who subscribe to the realist tradition tolerate limited adjustments. For example, they generally accept that a photograph can be cropped, or that correction can be made for technical errors (i.e., removal of scratches). They generally reject altering photos for merely aesthetic or reconstructive purposes.

as an introduction to any further normative discussion regarding DI technology and the ethics of image re–presentation in the news media.

Chapters Two through Four demonstrate that practitioners and commentators have identified a number of elements and principles within the domain of photo–image ethics. At the same time, it soon becomes evident that very little of a sustained and systematic attempt has been made to examine these elements in their interrelationships, or to assess and assign priorities to their ethical function. Chapter Five undertakes to remedy this serious deficit. It will show, for example, that when image–related elements are interpreted in terms of certain conventional "metaphysical" distinctions, we can move towards a clearer understanding of why some adjustments are acceptable, and why others are not, or are less so. The principle distinctions, sometimes mentioned, often implied in the contemporary literature are: (a) free–standing objects; (b) primary qualities or spatial, physical properties (e.g., shape, size, number); (c) spatial relationships (e.g., directions, separation and proximity); (d) secondary qualities such as colour, hue, light, tone and shade; (e) holistic or compositional relationships such as context, background and narrativity. Chapter Five will pull together these elements, and reorganize them into a three–tiered analysis: (i) image–intrinsic elements; (ii) image–extrinsic or para–image elements; (iii) agent's intent. This reconfigurating does three things: it reinforces the primacy of the agent's intention; it helps to systematize the hitherto fragmented data of image–ethics; finally, it provides a concerted and therefore a more adequate response to the moral perplexity surrounding photographic alterations in the area of photojournalism.

Chapter Six, the Conclusion, will itemize these latter points in greater detail and clarity.

1.0 AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF PHOTOGRAPHIC TECHNOLOGY

To appreciate the extent to which the photograph has been invested with a legacy of truth, Chapter One reviews the history of photographic technology with an emphasis on photography's reputation for 're–presenting' reality. This requires a historical analysis of the development and proliferation of the medium in a wider political, social, cultural, and ethical context. Technology is not developed, or adopted by the public, in a social vacuum. On the contrary, examination of the complex historical context into which media are introduced provides some guidance in understanding how they have come to take on the social and cultural forms we are familiar with today, and what constitutes conditions of their abuse.

Since at least the time of Aristotle, it had been known that rays of light passing through a pinhole would form an image. The 10th–century Arabian scholar Alhazen first described the effect in detail and told how to view an eclipse of the sun in a dark room with a pinhole opening to the outside (Upton, 1989). This enclosed darkened room was the first *camera obscura*— a light–tight "camera box" with a pinhole opening acting as a primitive aperture setting.

> By the time of the Renaissance, a lens had been fitted into the hole (of the camera obscura) to improve the image, and the camera obscura was becoming smaller and more portable; it shrank from a fixed room to a small hut, to a kind of sedan chair, to a small tent, and finally to a small box that could easily be carried (Upton, 1989, p. 352).

In 1825 Joseph Nicephore Niepce produced the world's first photographic image – a view of the courtyard buildings on his estate (Upton, 1989; Lubar, 1993). It was made on a sheet of pewter covered with bitumen of Judea, a type of asphalt that hardened when exposed to light. The exposure time was so long (8 hours), however, that the sun moved across the sky and illuminated both sides of the courtyard (Upton, 1989). The result, which Niepce called a *heliograph* (from

the Greek *helios,* "sun," and *graphos,* "drawing"), was crude; but it spurred him to continue his experiments. Meanwhile news of his work reached another Frenchman and future business partner Louis Jacques Mande Daguerre.

In 1839, when Daquerre made public his photographic process, he also stressed its potential accessibility to a wide public as well as its automatic nature – – two factors which were seen as inseparable from the imagined objectivity of the technique. "Anyone," he claimed, "can take the most detailed views in a few minutes," by " a chemical and physical process which gives nature the ability to reproduce herself" (quoted in Newhall, 1964, p. 17). This ideological view of the photograph as a direct and natural cast of reality was present from the very inception of the new technology and, almost immediately, its appeal was exploited. Daguerre remarked in 1838, in a notice designed to attract investors, "[t]he daguerreotype is not merely an instrument which serves to draw nature . . . [it] gives her the power to reproduce herself" (as quoted in Postman, 1985, p. 71).

Early inventors, authors, and commentators often liken the photographic image to nature's ability to imitate or duplicate herself. This recurrent motif, that in the photograph nature reproduces or repeats herself, reduces the distance between copy and reality, and enhances the "objectivity" of the icon. Indeed, this theme – near identity or verisimilitude – is the most striking and enduring constant in the history of photography.

One of the first descriptions of photographs appeared in the *Knickerbocker,* a New York magazine, in 1839. The article had a tone of wonder, of amazement, as it reported:

> We . . . have no hesitation in avowing that they [the photographs] are the most remarkable object of curiosity and admiration, in the arts, that we ever beheld. Their exquisite perfection almost transcends the bounds of sober belief (quoted in Taft, 1964, p. 3).

Right from the beginning, photography was accepted as *objective*, it commanded evidential force. Edgar Allan Poe vouched for the *accuracy* and *truthfulness* of photographic images when he wrote in 1840:

> In truth the daguerreotype plate is *infinitely more accurate* than any painting by human hands . . .The closest scrutiny of the photographic drawing discloses only a *more absolute truth*, more perfect identity of aspects with the thing represented (*italics added*, quoted in Rudisill, 1971, p. 54).

Inventor and artist Samuel Morse, the same year, introduced daguerreotypy to the National Academy of Design, describing the images as having been, "*painted by Nature's self*. . . they cannot be called copies of nature, but portions of nature herself" (*italics added*, quoted in Gross, Katz, & Ruby, 1988, p. 5).

By the time of Poe and Morse's commentary, substantial technical advances had already been made in photography. The daguerreotype, although very popular in its time, proved to be a technological dead end[5] (Lubar, 1993). Improved lenses, forming an image many times more brilliant than Daguerre's, had been constructed in Vienna; and the first practical method for increasing the light sensitivity of the plate had been published in London (Upton, 1989). These improvements underscored the power of the photograph to re–present reality as truthfully and as objectively as any reproduction could; and all this prompted the U.S. Congress, in 1842, to accept daguerreotypes as, "undeniably accurate evidence" in a U.S.– Canadian border legal dispute (Rudisill, 1971, p. 240). Even

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5 By the 1840's there emerged complaints about the daguerreotypy. The three main complaints were: 1) the image was difficult to view (the image could be seen clearly only from certain angles); 2) the process was hazardous to one's health (the mercury vapour used in the process was highly poisonous and probably shortened the life of more than one daguerreotypist) (Upton, 1989); and 3) the most serious drawback was that each plate was unique; there was no way of producing copies except by re–photographing the original object.

today, the public has never quite lost the belief that photographs (and film) are especially suited to record the truth.

1.1 The Beginning of Photography's Reportorial Function

One of the few beneficiaries of a war is the news business. During the American Civil War, northern newspaper and magazine circulations rose steadily, as did war coverage. In 1864, *Leslie's Weekly* said it had eighty artists in the field and had published nearly three thousand engraved pictures of the war. Photographers were slow at first to understand the opportunity, but eventually about three hundred were authorized to carry their cameras to the front (Goldberg, 1991). Photographs went on exhibition within a month of war's beginning and could be distributed in quantity within another month, a time lapse that seems lengthy by today's standards but was then remarkable (Upton, 1989). The pace and nature of communications had clearly changed. By the end of the American Civil War, photography was well established as one of the most influential journalistic mediums in the world.

Mathew Brady, Alexander Gardener, and Timothy O'Sullivan, all respected early photographers, marked a beginning point in the history of photojournalism and news gathering. Prior to their return from the war with photographs, illustrators and their engraved renderings had been the primary visual source in war coverage. The engraved reproductions proved to be no match for the photograph. By the end of the war, photography was becoming a primary means of reporting the war. By the late nineteenth century, photography was already offering the news as a picture–mediated reality, and the public were willing participants in the "iconographical revolution" (N. Harris, 1990).

Magazines and newspapers eagerly adopted photographs. The more image journals ran, the more popular they were. The first picture magazine was Herbert

Ingram's *Illustrated London News* founded in 1842. In the United States the first newspaper whose appeal was mainly pictorial was Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*, started in 1855. Close behind came *Harper's Weekly* in 1857. All were immediate successes (Lubar, 1993).

At first, these early newspapers were illustrated by woodcuts. The drawings were often labeled "drawn by our artists on the spot," but in fact were usually done from photographs far from the scene. The image would be sketched onto a wood block, and then a skilled engraver would cut away the wood between the lines. There were many improvements in this process over the next few years. In the 1870s the first techniques for printing intermediate tones were developed: the Woodburytype and the Albertype[6]. The first half-tone, invented by Cornell professor Fredrick E. Ives, allowed printers to reproduce the grays of a photograph by purely mechanical means[7]. Because the half-tone looked more like a photograph, it was more convincing, more true, or at least more easily believed, than the engravings it replaced. Soon, photographs, reproduced by the half-tone process, were found everywhere. In 1899, according to one survey, almost 90 percent of the illustrations in magazines were reproduced from photographs, only 10 percent from drawings (Lubar, 1993). Neil Harris, a cultural historian, describes the half-tone effect as "an iconographical revolution of the first order", ranking it an innovation in printing second in importance only to the invention of the moveable type (N. Harris, 1990, p. 307). The comparison is significant

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6 Woodburytype and Albertype refer to labour intensive techniques for printing intermediate tones or grays. These early methods were difficult and found use primarily in expensive books.

7 A half-tone is an image that can be reproduced on the same printing press with ordinary type. The tones in the photograph are screened to a pattern of dots (close together in dark areas, farther apart in light areas) that give the illusion of continuous tone (Upton, 1989).

because it underscores the increasingly superior epistemic role ascribed to photographic images.

Photographs made an enormous difference in journalism. Printed photographs made possible photojournalism, that is, stories told entirely in pictures. Sensational photographs also brought a wide range of complaints. Quite simply, it was easy to fake photographs, to misrepresent news, under the guise of photographic truth. Photographs also encouraged the coverage of war, murder, and, as Robert Taft, author of a history of American photography, put it, "morbid and gruesome events" (Taft, 1964, p. 449). Most importantly, it sold newspapers. Much later in 1937, Henry R. Luce, founder of *Time* and *Life* magazines, wrote: "the photograph is . . . the most important instrument of journalism which has been developed since the printing press" (*quoted in* Taft, 1964, p. 449). Again, the comparison underscores the increasingly informative role ascribed to photographic images. It also underscores the increasing importance placed on photography by the journalistic and news community.

In the 1920s, George Gallup conducted a survey of what people read in the newspapers and found that many of the most read pages had pictures on them: 85 percent read the 'picture page', 70 percent the comics, and 40 to 45 percent the editorial cartoons (Lubar, 1993). Clearly photography had become an essential element in news coverage.

1.2 The Epistemic and Discursive Impact of Photographic Technology

Camera technology was not only making the proliferation and democratization of images possible but, as faster shutter speeds developed, photography began to alter the way in which people perceived and depicted truth and evidence. Prior to the development and acceptance of photographic images,

the writer or journalist would describe in words a scene or act for the reader. Words bear the entire burden of recreating for the reader an experience undergone by someone else. Any visual re–presentation accompanying a story was done by the artisan hand, clearly a subjective and interpretative process.

Roland Barthes probes the difference between the photograph and the written word as it relates to the depiction of truth when he writes:

> The Photograph does not necessarily say *what is no longer,* but only and for certain *what has been*. This distinction is decisive. . . . No writing can give me this certainty. It is the misfortune (but also perhaps the voluptuous pleasure) of language not to be able to authenticate itself . . . language is, by nature, fictional; the attempt to render language unfictional requires an enormous apparatus of measurements: we convoke logic, or, lacking that, sworn oath; but the Photograph is indifferent to all intermediaries: it does not invent; *it is authentication itself*; the (rare) artifices it permits are not probative; they are, on the contrary, trick pictures: the photograph is laborious only when it fakes (*italics added*, Barthes, 1981, p. 85, 87).

Unlike language the photograph appears to be self–warranting. It supplies its own probity. It captures on film every detail whether intentional or not. Effortlessly, it gives an authentic and exact report of past events whereas it must struggle to deceive. This distinction between it and language is important.

Written language, of course, is the medium we use to provoke, argue, and cross–examine what comes into view. Photography has a vocabulary that is limited to concrete re–presentation. Unlike words and sentences, the photograph does not present to us an idea or concept about the world, unless we add language itself to convert the image to idea. By itself, a photograph cannot deal with the unseen, the visceral, the hypothetical. The photograph presents the world as object; language, the world as idea.

Neil Postman makes another important distinction between the written word and the photograph. Postman shows that definitions of truth are derived, at least in part, from the character of the media through which information is conveyed. Postman argues that the media impose themselves on our consciousness and our social institutions because of the way they direct us to organize our minds and integrate our experiences of the world.

> Every epistemology is the epistemology of a stage of media development. Truth, like time itself, is a product of a conversation man has with himself about and through the techniques of communication he has invented (Postman, 1986, p. 24).

The public, having witnessed the exactness of their own and other's photographs, fell prey to the *character* of photography. Early on, they were directed to accept the premise that the photograph was an objective and truthful record. And, as photography became more commonplace especially in our social institutions where it was put to use with increased frequency, photography began to reorganize our minds and our society.

To illustrate: In the 1870s, Eadweard Muybridge devised a spring operated mechanism for tripping the shutter at 1/500 of a second which enabled the photographer to capture moving objects with great clarity. To demonstrate his invention he produced photographs of a horse in full motion, showing the horse's gait (full run) in its successive stages. His invention not only overturned the accepted conventions of the physiology of a running horse but shocked the eye. "Man, in understanding what happens around him, depends primarily on sight" (Hicks, 1973, p. 3), but Muybridge's device proved that human vision was fallible. Perhaps, too, any knowledge based on it was also flawed. Paul Valery, not without some paradox, wrote that Muybridge's photographs transformed human perception:

> thanks to photography, the eye [had grown] accustomed to anticipate what it should see and to see it; and it learned not to see nonexistent things which, hitherto, it had seen so clearly (as quoted in Goldberg, 1991, p. 30).

Muybridge's photographs raised larger issues than the question of where a horse put its legs when it ran. It raised questions about the truthfulness and reliability of human perception itself.

Curiously, although many of his contemporaries did not deny the veracity of the photographs, some did not approve. At issue was "where did the artist's obligation lie?": in the truth as it was (as it was recorded on film), or as humans perceive it (as it was recorded by the artist)? The celebrated Auguste Rodin came down squarely on the side of human vision as the locus of truth:

> It is the artist who is truthful and the photograph which lies, for in real time [the horse] does not stop . . . if the artist succeeds in producing the impression of a movement which takes several moments for accomplishment, his work is certainly much less conventional than scientific image, where time is abruptly suspended (Scharf, 1975, p. 226).

To rephrase the debate: in which medium, the artist's perception or the mechanically produced image, is reality most truthfully expressed?

Rodin denied the truthfulness of the photographic process because it so drastically immobilized time and movement. Rodin's vilification of photographs, then, is ironic because photography, which had been invented partly to satisfy a desire for realistic depiction, reinforced and perhaps influenced the century's increasing faith in and reliance on visual observation in the sciences (Goldberg, 1991).

Acceptance and application of photography at the beginning of the twentieth century paralleled the paradigmatic shift in the bias of Western culture,

a shift toward Positivism and scientism, away from common–sense verdicts of ordinary sense data. The technologically enhanced photograph made many scientific discoveries possible. Marshall McLuhan noted that, "most of the sciences had been, from their origins, utterly handicapped by the lack of adequate nonverbal means of transmitting information" (McLuhan, 1964, p. 172). Advances in photographic technology preceded many scientific breakthroughs. "Subatomic physics" McLuhan added, "would be unable to develop without the photograph" (p.173). Photographic applications continued to grow throughout the century. Advances in car safety were dependent on understanding what occurs during a car collision. High speed photography allowed engineers to slow down a car collision, capturing on film in units 1/1000 of a second, what occurs both inside and outside the automobile. The apparently unquestionable veracity of the mechanical nature of photography ensured its status as a means to re–present truth; to impersonally substantiate the scientist's, engineer's, and journalist's interpretations of events.

However, some intellectuals worried about the erosion of their prestige as gatekeepers of culture, denounced "chromolithography" and its potential and growing uses. They saw photography as a threat to print culture and rationalism, a vulgarization of knowledge and culture, and an assault on what Neil Postman calls the "typographic mind"[8]. Edwin Lawrence Godkin, editor of the *Nation*, wrote in 1874 that chromolithographs,

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8 Neil Postman argues that "the photograph and telegraph" were the "advance guard of a new epistemology that would put an end to the Empire of Reason" (Postman, 1989, p.48). Affected by the growth of the new technology would be attention span and complex rhetorical resources such as sarcasm, irony, paradox, elaborated metaphors, fine distinctions, and exposure of contradiction.

> diffused in the community a kind of smattering of all sorts of knowledge, a taste for 'art' – that is, a desire to see and own pictures– which, taken together, pass with a large body of slenderly–equipped persons as 'culture' and give them an unprecedented self–confidence in dealing with all the problems of life, and raise them in their own minds to a plane on which they see nothing higher, greater, or better than themselves (quoted in Lubar, 1993, p. 58).

He went on to deprecate America as "a chromo–civilization". Charles Congdon, in the *North American Review* in 1884, called his an age of "over–illustration", and worried about the "intellectual indolence that a habit of indulgence in mere picture–gazing" would bring (quoted in Lubar, 1993). Others worried about the spread of illustrated books, increasingly common around the turn of the century. To them, the ease of reproducing photographs in books meant that the author had less control over his/her message and readers. Critics feared that the illustrator (photographer) would sway the reader more than the author, that illustrations forced people to form certain undesirable images in their minds. Indeed, modern and contemporary writers and scholars continue to write about Western society's image driven culture, a culture where reasoned discourse is eclipsed and wherein the image plays a dominant part in the process of forming opinions and changing attitudes (Ellul, 1965; Boorstin, 1971; Beloff, 1985; Biyton, 1987; Gergen, 1991, Postman, 1986).

Neil Postman (1986) in *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, claims photography did not serve as a supplement to language, but bid to replace it as our dominant means for constructing, understanding, and testing reality. He and others, such as Marshall McLuhan, see the photo as at least a rival, and perhaps an usurper, of the word, whether written or spoken.

1.3 Proliferation and Democratisation of Photographic Technology

Despite early and continued warnings, the public became increasingly reliant on photographic images; pictures were everywhere. The 1880s and 1890s

were, as historian Neil Harris puts it, "a visual age" (N. Harris, 1990, p. 7). Not just pictures but electric lighting, too, brought a new visually induced excitement to cities; and a new innovation, the movies, provided another dimension to pictorialism. "People had learned to use images, and they came to enjoy and expect them" (Lubar 1990, p. 59).

Technology that made it easier to take pictures emerged quickly in the last half of the nineteenth century. Dry plates, invented in 1853 and later refined into the gelatin dry plate in 1871, marked the first steps towards making this mechanical process of photography much simpler. Historians now speak of the democratization of photography: in 1872, some 50 million photographs were made. Factory–prepared film was introduced in 1887. Long strips of celluloid now replaced glass plates and made it easy for amateurs to take photographs. The greatest breakthrough was George Eastman's Kodak camera, introduced in 1888. "You press the button, we do the rest" was the Kodak marketing slogan, and it was very close to true. Each camera came preloaded with film for one hundred pictures, after which the owner sent it back to the factory for developing. Kodak had sales of $2.3 million in 1908, and $9.7 million one year later (Lubar 1990, p. 61). George Eastman was credited most with democratizing picture taking.

> Eastman's contribution was to make the equipment less expensive and easier to use, and to successfully expand the market outwards from the increasingly casual amateur photographers, who were still affiliated with societies, to a photographically illiterate, middle class public (Inglesby, 1990, p. 19).

However, the proliferation of the easy–to–use cameras also created division and conflict within and between photographers and the general public. As the public grew increasingly irate with instances of arrogance and lack of consideration demonstrated by some amateurs and freelance news photographers, other

photographers wishing to distance themselves from the less responsible groups, began to organize in order that they might discuss new techniques and technologies, and ways of ensuring their professional status (Inglesby, 1990). One such organization called the Photo League operated in New York from 1936 to 1951. When founded, the Photo League declared as its aim the following:

> Photography has tremendous social value. Upon the photographer rests the responsibility and duty of recording a *true image* of the world as it is today. Photography has long suffered from the stultifying influence of the pictorialists. The Photo League's task is to put the camera back in the hands of *honest photographers (italics added*, quoted in Rothstien, 1986, p. 63)

Once again, the responsible photographer's action is intimately linked to truthfulness.

The proliferation of easy–to–use cameras was a driving force not only in the development and organization of photographers, but also in the development and implementation of photographic standards, ethics, and laws. It seems that as manufacturers developed better and longer lenses, faster and more sensitive film, and lighter and more portable cameras, the public, and later the law, became interested in photography and its role in a modern democratic society. The results of the early discourse involving the public was a system of laws and guidelines dealing with issues such as privacy, trespass, access, ownership of image, copyright, and libel (Korbe, 1991). Some print media began to issue handbooks to their journalists and photographers clearly outlining organization policy as well as existing laws. For example, it is illegal in some jurisdictions to shoot a photograph inside certain institutions (e.g., churches, synagogues, legislatures, private homes), without first obtaining a written consent. Any photographer or news publication knowingly publishing an illegally gained photograph can be brought before the law and fined (Kobre, 1991).

1.4 Photography's Expansion of Influence and Function

Social reformers were quick to recognized the power of the iconic apparatus. Willie Swift (1897) of Quarry Hill, England and celebrated U.S. reformer Jacob Riis (1890) published photographs demonstrating the wretched living conditions faced by the poor and their children.

> No photograph acts in a vacuum, and Riis's photographs were supported by a confluence of historical circumstances as well as by his own energy and talent. The reform movement, the health movement, middle–class fears of the immigrant populace, the novelty of his subject matter, and the arrival of Teddy Roosevelt in city government all contributed to the effectiveness of his pictures (Goldberg, 1991, p. 169)

Technological refinements enhanced social effectiveness. Social reformers' success depended, in part, on the development of the magnesium flash, the hand–held camera, and the half–tone process.

The tradition of reporting hardship was advanced by Lewis Hine who supplied photographs of child labour and working conditions to social work journals and, from 1908 onwards, to the National Child Labor Committee (Blyton, 1987). Social scientists and anthropologists, too, used photographs as evidence in their foreign travels and exploration, and forever shaped the Western world's view of distant people and cultures.

In short, photography had become a powerful reporting tool. It was an authoritative means of communication, though not independent of linguistic and cultural orthodoxy, but cognitively effective. Sarah Greenough, a historian of photography, writes about the instructional role of the photo image when she describes Jacob Riis and other social reformers, educators, and social scientists as being,

> typical of the many turn–of–the –century crusaders who used photography as a tool to provide visual *proof* of their ideas. . . For them photography was an empirical tool, and they used it as they would have used any other mechanical aid, to provide data to augment their spoken and written words, their charts and statistics. Photography became a way for these men and women to organize, classify, symbolize, and perhaps most important, *understand* issues such as urban growth, ethnic diversity, cultural change, and industrialization, which otherwise were unknown, fearsome, and seemingly out of control (*italics added,* Greenough, 1989, p. 137).

Government and other state institutions, too, were attracted to photographic technology and its potential uses. Photography was the key to modern advertising and propaganda, starting in the early twentieth century. Photographers went to work making posters during World War I, creating a war of posters which "exhorted patriotism, made graphic the enemy's atrocities, and sold bonds" (Lubar, 1993, p. 61). The persuasive power of images continued after the war, both in advertising and in the posters that managers hung in factories to suggest good work practices and proper behaviour (Lubar, 1993). During the Great Depression, the government found the power of photography particularly valuable in demonstrating the need for federally funded programs and their successes (Tagg, 1988).

Even before the turn of the century, government institutions and academic disciplines became increasingly dependent on systematized collections of photographic examples. This proliferation of files constituted another landmark expansion of photography's influence. The government wanted to assemble portraits of felons almost as eagerly as upstanding citizens wanted portraits of themselves. In France, Alphonse Bertillon photographed 100,000 criminals and arranged their images in a complex filing system. Fingerprint files, another system of images, were started in several countries. Universities used the power of photography for organization and classification in many disciplines including the

positive sciences, anthropology, history, sociology, psychology, and the arts. The police, patent offices, military intelligence agencies, art historians, anthropologists, medical researchers, and other branches of work and knowledge made photographic files central to their operations (Goldberg, 1991).

In another sense, then, the gatekeepers of culture had little reason for concern about their own diminishing status for it was they who had primary access to photographic technology, the skills and finance necessary for organization and classification of images; they had the status in the intellectual community to define and interpret what specific images re–presented. Photography, according to John Tagg (1988) and other critics, was not the great democratizing force some alleged it to be, but rather another tool in the dominant culture's social control arsenal. According to Tagg, photography's institutional centrality and its status as a source of evidence and proof, were made possible by a restructuring of power relations between the state and its citizens in the nineteenth century. The dominant culture and its state institutions– including hospitals, asylums, universities, and police – exerted a new and increasingly subtle form of dominance through ever more effective observation practices. Photography, a medium of recording and amassing seemingly objective evidence, enhanced the jurisdiction and power of bureaucracies. In effect, photography became another instrument in the arsenal of authority, an instrument of surveillance, classification, and control. The nineteenth century laid the foundations for an information era in which knowledge is power, and photography, a most compelling form of knowledge, contributed to that formation (Tagg, 1988; Goldberg, 1991).

The middle years of the twentieth century saw continuous technological advances in photography and printing. Film gained greater sensitivity, less graininess, and better colour accuracy. (The first commercial colour film was

introduced in 1907, the first colour roll in 1942.) Cameras improved, too. Better lenses allowed for shorter exposures. A typical lens in 1908 was f/6.8; just thirty years later a good camera had an f/2.8 lens[9]. Average exposures went from 1/25 of a second to as short as 1/500 of a second. The upshot of all this was greater clarity and definition in the image and so, by implication, enhanced accuracy.

Marshall McLuhan in his book, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964), viewed media as extensions of humans and argued that photography was an extension of the human eye. Human's ability to extend human vision beyond its normal 20/20 limit into otherwise unrealizable territory emerged in the late 1880's with the introduction of flash powder, for night and indoor shots. The electric flashbulb was introduced in 1929, making night photography and high speed photography safer and much more convenient, and in the process extending human vision and accelerating the recording function of photography.

Rapid technological advances in associated scientific disciplines resulted in many improvements to the camera and the printing process. The first successful 35mm camera, the *Leica*, was produced in 1924. The photo–electric exposure meter was introduced in 1932. The *Polaroid* instant camera, invented by Edwin Land, was first marketed in 1946. Electronics found their way into cameras, just as they found their way into other technologies. The first microprocessor–controlled automatic exposure system was introduced by *Canon* in 1976. Automatic electronic focusing, invented by Honeywell, was introduced by *Konica* in 1978 (Lubar, 1993).

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9 F-stop, or relative aperture, represents a number that equals the focal length of the lens divided by the diameter of the aperture at a given setting. Theoretically, all lenses at the same f–number produce images of equal brightness. Lenses are often described as fast or slow. These terms refer to how wide the maximum aperture is. A lens with an f/2.8 opens wider and is said to be faster than one that opens only to f/6.8.

These improvements in photographic precision and speed were accompanied by advances in printing. New printing techniques produced photographs of better quality, and exposed new graphic forms to popular acclaim. Photojournalism secured a mass outlet in magazines such as *Life, Look, Time,* and *National Geographic.* Newspapers, too, used more and more pictures, and more colour (Lubar, 1993). The visual excitement of the times also extended to moving pictures and television.

A quantum revolution in picture making came about when images could be converted into and transmitted by electronic impulse. One newspaper put the problem and imagined future this way:

> Editors and publishers [in the late eighteenth century were] fully conscious of the public's craving for illustrations, but it is difficult to meet because the methods of producing them are too slow to compete with the word–pictures, which can be flashed over the telegraph wires. . . and printed long before an artist has made a sketch to illustrate the same fact. But suppose it were possible to transmit the picture over the wires with the same facility as we now transmit the words. . . What a revolution it would effect in the methods of giving news to the public (quoted in Lubar, 1993, p. 64)

As far back as 1843 people had tried to convert pictures into electronic impulses so that they could then send pictures over telegraph wires (Lubar, 1993). Early attempts could not produce the quality of re–presentation people had come to expect from news photos. The early attempts were neither technically or commercially successful. American Telephone and Telegraph (later AT&T) established its Telephoto service in 1924, but abandoned it in1933 after spending almost $3 million (U.S.). The first successful electronic transmission of stills came in the 1930's, when the Associated Press (AP) established its Wirephoto network. The AP, building on new work from Bell Labs and overcoming considerable opposition from those who felt that the multi–million dollar investment was too

high for an experiment, transmitted quality news pictures in 1935. It was an immediate success (Lubar, 1993).

All during this career of technological advances, photography's reputation for re–presenting reality never tarnished. People continued to assume that photojournalist's pictures offered them windows to the world, a mirror of reality (Szarkowski, 1978). There were, however, many instances known to the public of photographic deception and manipulation.

Most instances of photographic deception and manipulation involved pre–shutter manipulation. William Frassanito, in his book *Gettysburg: A Journey in Time,* (1975), demonstrated that American Civil War photographers such as Timothy O'Sullivan, had engaged in manipulating objects in their photographs, e.g., moving corpses into battle positions for better, more effective photographs. This type of pre–image scene manipulation occurred prior to the tripping of the shutter. Jacob Riis and W. Eugene Smith also were accused of staging photographs. Riis was said to have torn clothing and added dirt to the faces of poor children to emphasize his social message, and Smith was said to have convinced subjects in his 'Spanish Village' photo story for *Life* magazine to dress and act a certain way. These were examples of rearranging the object–scene prior to recording the image on film. In contrast to this, others altered the images themselves after the images had been recorded on film; post–shutter manipulation. Senator Joseph McCarthy was implicated in the creation and dissemination of a montage photograph which appeared in the *New York Post,* Sept. 19, 1951, which showed U.S. Senator Millard Tydings in earnest conversation with Earl Browder, former head of the American Communist party. This composite image, appearing to implicate Tydings in communist alliances, contributed to Tydings losing his seat in the U.S. Congress. But despite the

growing awareness of the practice of photographic abuses, the widespread belief that photography was endowed with a special claim to the truth prevailed.

> Yet aside from propaganda and blatant fakes, photography's reputation for truthfulness persisted. No one could doubt that a photograph with an intact negative reported what was there when the shutter opened, no more and no less (Goldberg, 1991, p. 99).

The adage, 'photographs don't lie' remained a truism well on into the twentieth century.

1.5 The Digital Revolution

In the 1970s, even as doubts increased about photography's truthfulness, two technical developments effectively undermined it. The two inventions, according to Vicki Goldberg (1991), were the still video camera which codes images in electrical signals on disk; and the Scitex machine, a computer imaging system.

A photojournalist using this new technology can snap a picture and transmit it via telephone lines or satellite directly to a computer monitor, perhaps in another city or country. This is true for both digitally recorded photographs as well as for digitally re–recorded photographs (print photos scanned by laser and converted into digital code). Whoever controls the computer can now treat the image as a set design and generate a new reality – a pseudo–reality. This is possible because the Scitex machine (a brand name for a digital imaging system which denotes the technology itself) can translate any kind of photographic image into electrical signals; from there on, all signals or impulses can be rearranged at will. Examples abound: In February, 1982, the *National Geographic*, in need of a vertical image for its cover, moved two pyramids closer together than the ancient Egyptian architects had originally placed them. *Time* magazine in its 'Picture of the Week' cover of November 25, 1985, cut an original photograph of Nancy

Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev, resituated and pasted the two women's images so to make them appear closer, both in proximity and in personal relations, than they actually were. In both cases, the differences and adjustments were undetectable. These examples of post–shutter image manipulation (manipulation of objects from an original picture) reminds us that technology had once again outstripped conventional constraints that would ensure photography's veracity.

Starting in the 1950's, computers ushered in new ways of constructing, manipulating, and using images. The ability to convert pictures into electrical signals was just the first step. Photographs encoded digitally could be manipulated as never before. They could be transmitted over phone lines as easily as voices; they could be taken by satellites circling Mars and seen immediately on Earth. The formation, enhancement, and distribution of digital code began to play an increasingly important role in the great digital revolution. Digital Imaging technology, as it has come to be called today, resulted from a number of technological developments, primarily in computer technology.

The first computers used teletypes to communicate in words. By 1951, the *EDSAC* system, at Cambridge University, and *Whirlwind* system, at MIT, were the first systems to add graphic displays. In the late 1950's and early 1960's computer scientists at several institutions came up with ways to use the computer as a drawing machine. Ivan Sutherland, using MIT's Lincoln Laboratory *TX–2*, was first to produce pictures with a computer drawing program. His 1962 *Sketchpad* program could draw lines and circles, and could treat groups of lines as objects, keeping them together, and using them to create new objects (Lubar, 1993).

These early computer–graphics technologies were very expensive and slow, but improvements came quickly. Throughout the 1960s more powerful computers brought progressive breakthroughs and refinements to computer graphics. Larger

and cheaper memory technology contributed to higher resolution and colour, ingredients necessary to re–present the quality of photo images that people had grown accustomed to viewing.

Once sufficiently large enough to operate complex graphic programs at a reasonable price, computer graphics found many new applications. Computers were used to create computer art and computer–graphic representations of statistical and scientific data. And computers were also used to manipulate photographic images. Computer operators and photographers trained in 'photo/graphic programs' could use computer technology to touch up technical or aesthetic flaws in photographs. They also could create realistic images – that is, re–create within the computer what goes on in the real word of light and objects. This was made possible through a computer application called 'computer–aided–engineering' which allowed operators to move and remove objects from within an image through a recombinant process which could create new objects either through cloning portions of another object or through artistic design.

Digital imaging (DI) technology, which represents by far the most revolutionary photographic discovery of this century, presents a new level of concerns for those interested in the ethics debate. Concern centres around the technology's uses and misuses. Computers, by treating each micro–element or pixel[10] of the image as a digital signal, make it easier to manipulate a picture. It

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10 Pixels are similar to what has been described as film grain. A fast film, 400 -100 ASA (universal standard of the film manufacturing industry), is far "grainer" than a slow film, 64 - 6 ASA, but requires less light to form an image. An image composed of 280,000 pixels is far "grainer" than that of a fast film. Curved lines, for example, would not appear fluid or smooth but rather jagged or stacked.

In order to decrease the appearance of grain, higher resolutions (more pixel capacity) was required. In the 1980s it was theoretically possible to accomplish finer re-productions but it wasn't practical. Many newspapers and businesses could not afford a computer with a memory capacity that could accommodate the vast amount of

also can draw attention away from the *whole* object to the micro–elements of the object. This move, whether conscious or not, underscores an epistemic shift away from the respect for the whole (gestalt) toward a focus on the aggregates (elements). Ethically, then, it seems easier to justify the removal of unwanted pixels than it is to remove an person–object's arm or leg. This shift in values might explain why increasing numbers of photojournalists and photo-editors use DI technology not just for speed and corrective purposes but to aesthetically enhance photographs (Reaves, 1987, 1995).

A problem exists because the same technology that allows photographers to *correct* photographs can just so easily be used to *aesthetically enhance* and/or *falsify* them. For a long time photojournalists and photo-editors have recognized the value of digital imaging and saw a potential for its use in a variety of design purposes. DI technology could be used solely for speed and for *corrective* purposes (correction of transmission errors, colour correction, removal of dust, processing errors, mechanical difficulties), or to *aesthetically enhance* photographic images (flattening or lightening contrast, darkening or lightening foreground/ background, softening of image). This same technology, however, could also be used to *re–construct* the initial image: adding or subtracting digitally recorded elements thereby affecting the visual relationships of the objects re–presented, darkening or blurring backgrounds, or cropping them out entirely, thereby removing or altering vital contextual information. Those uses, therefore, range from perfectly legitimate and minor refinements to radical content–altering with disturbing ethical implications.

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data such a process would require. Today, not only is it possible, but most major magazines have acquired the technology to increase the number of pixels in a print and are presently using it.

1.6 Photography's Legacy of Truthful Re-presentation in the Digital Age

This chapter brings out the persistence of the truth/truthfulness motif in the history of photographic technology. This ideological view of the photograph as a direct and natural cast of reality was present from the very inception of photographic technology and has continued today despite the public's growing awareness of new DI technologies and the seeming increase in number of cases of photographic alteration that has been made public.

Images, just as with signs in general, can be used to lie. Modern technological advances just make it faster, much less detectable if at all, and easier to lie. It helps to understand that image-falsification, particularly when it issues from a trusted source such as a reputable news organization, belongs somewhere in a family of related terms for "falsity": deception, distortion, lies, dishonesty, exaggeration, deception, embellishment, illusion, fabrication, etc.. Umberto Eco writing about "a theory of the lie" draws attention to the relationship that image-enhancement and falsification has with semiotics. Eco writes:

> Semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something else does not have to necessarily exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands for it. Thus semiotics is in principle the discipline studying everything which can be used in order to lie. If something cannot be used to tell a lie, conversely it cannot be used to tell the truth: it cannot in fact be used 'to tell' at all. I think that the definition of a 'theory of the lie' should be taken as a pretty comprehensive program for a general semiotics (Eco, 1979, p. 11).

The underlying conception of truth here (against which falsification is measured) is the *correspondence theory of truth*. Correspondence theory is historically the oldest conception of truth and, in most discussions, the most commonly assumed version. As old as Aristotle's formulation,

> [t]o say that what is is not, or that what is not is, is false; but to say that what is is, and what is not is not, is true; and therefore also he who says that a thing is or is not will say either what is true or what is false, (Aristotle, *trans.* Tredennick, 1936, p. 201)

holds that beliefs, reports, and representations are true. At the same time, that quality of fit or correspondence also has an intrinsic *ethical* relationship since truth in reports, and truthfulness in agents, has always been considered a supreme value. Lorraine Code in *Epistemic Responsibility*, adds "that although actual correspondence relations are difficult to achieve, if not impossible, to establish, sustaining the effort to do so as well as possible is a mark of virtuous intellectual conduct" (Code, 1987, p. 131). By the same token, any attempts to ensure the integrity and truthfulness of the news photograph ought to be thought of as a virtuous, if not, worthy, intellectual endeavor. Conversely, any attempt to present a photographic report which does not accord with pre–shutter realities represents intellectual corruption, and is conduct unbecoming of a professional.

In summary, Digital Imaging (DI) technologies are problematic especially for those not simply concerned with artistic values but with truthfulness and accuracy in re–presentation and reportage. The same technology that can be used to 'clean up' a photograph (that is to remove an unwelcome flaw from an original photograph) can also be used to generate a pseudo–reality. Daniel Boorstin, *The Image* (1971), captures it as well as anyone:

> Photography, by enabling any mechanically adept amateur to produce a kind of "original" – that is, a unique view of an unrepeatable moment of what was really out there – confuses our sense of what is original and what is a copy of experience. The moment is gone, yet somehow the photograph still lives (Boorstin, 1971, p. 170).

Today, with the proliferation of new digital imaging technologies, we must worry not only about pseudo–events, but about illusions, events that never even existed

but which can now be made to appear to have existed. Tom Wheeler and Tim Gleason in a conference article titled "Digital Photography and the Ethics of Photofiction", stated:

> Photofiction isn't new, but computers have made it easier to do, accessible to more people and virtually impossible to detect, creating a greater potential for abuse of reader's trust than has ever existed (quoted in Scharnberg, 1994, p. 18).

Authenticity, credibility, truthfulness, trustworthiness – – qualities that have traditionally characterized photojournalism are presently very tenuous. Photography, specifically that of the photojournalist has commanded a legacy of truthful re–presentation. "For a long time if you had a picture it was proof and people would believe what they saw" (Scharnberg, 1994, p. 17). But new digital imaging technologies is changing or, at the very least, threatening to change all of that. Since regulation has not kept pace with technology, and since the public is increasingly aware of the use of digital imaging technologies, maintaining the public's trust will be a central challenge for photojournalism in the coming years. In short, the history of photographic technology confirms the need to review and enhance our understanding of the whole issue of photographic adjustment and alteration from an ethical point of view.

2.0 *THE EMERGENCE OF ETHICAL AWARENESS IN PHOTOJOURNALISM*

Within the larger historical impact, it is difficult to isolate and outline the emergence of photographic ethics, particularly as it pertains to photojournalism. This chapter undertakes to illustrate the development of the awareness of photojournalism ethics within this fragmented and often chaotic historical framework.

Although the mass newspaper arrived at the same period Daquerre made public his photographic process, in the 1830s, it was limited in terms of news gathering, printing technology, and distribution. The decades after the American Civil War were filled with important mechanical, scientific, and technical developments that did much to advance the circulation and importance of newspapers. As newspapers became larger and more powerful, they began more actively to seek out the news. The role of the reporter grew more complex and specialized as newspapers added foreign correspondents and special news gathers including photographers. The rising demand for fresh news was met by newly formed cooperative news–gathering agencies which relied heavily upon the telegraph. These agencies sent stories and photographs to papers in many parts of the globe with which they had contractual arrangements.

The second half of the 19th century was for Western society a period of rapid change, conflict, and transition. Newspaper growth rose steadily until 1880, and then rose sharply during the decades of 1890 –1910. "In 1872 there were slightly fewer than 50 daily newspapers in Canada; twenty years later the number had doubled" (Fetherling, 1990, p. 58). This rapid growth continued until about the time of World War I and then leveled off during the 1920s. The social context within which the mass press spread and matured was one characterized by social and cultural conflict (Goldberg, 1991).

There were enormous hurdles to cross before newspaper readers could expect truthful photographs. Many turn–of–the–century publications would reproduce photographs as woodcuts, believing that their readers preferred the artistic license such reproductions permitted. The artist could rearrange any event's details at will; the photographer could not. But an element other than artistic license was also involved in the saga of late 19th century journalism. Many readers objected to the flagrant use of the sensational photograph (actually woodcuts) as another element in the rise of so–called "yellow journalism".

"Yellow journalism" is one of the most dramatic episodes in the development of the press. It is a product of fierce struggles for additional readers between giant rival papers. Owners fought by any means available to expand their circulation figures, which were, of course, the key to increased advertising revenue and profits. Various features, devices, gimmicks, styles, and experiments were tried by each side to make its paper more appealing to the mass reader. As the competition intensified into open conflict, the papers turned more and more to sensationalistic devices that would attract additional readers. In the early 1890s, according to Emery and Smith (1954), just as photography began to make its way into newspapers, "yellow journalism" burst full blown upon the public:

> [T]he yellow journalist. . . choked up the news channels upon which the common man depended, with a callous disregard for journalistic ethics and responsibility. Theirs was a shrieking, gaudy, sensation–loving, devil–may–care kind of journalism which lured the reader by any possible means. It seized upon the techniques of writing, illustrating and printing which were the prides of the new journalism and turned them to perverted uses. It made the high drama of life a cheap melodrama, and it twisted the facts of each day into whatever form seemed best to produce sales for the howling newsboy. Worst of all, instead of giving its readers effective leadership, it offered a palliative of sin, sex and violence (as quoted in DeFluer & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p. 57).

One of the chief questions coming from the public debate was the right of the individual to privacy–and this especially included privacy from the camera lens. This was spurred in part by published photographs showing private individuals in their homes, some of them composed of several photographs pasted together – and printed to convey an unmistakable but untruthful message (Geraci, 1990). Indeed, for a time, the photograph itself seemed to epitomize the worst of this sad chapter in publishing. Leaders in education, religion, law, and government increasingly voiced strong opposition to the press owners who were faced with the threat of losing public confidence, and the chilling possibility of regulation being imposed. The public demand for reform was insistent and undeniable, and in time, the image of the news photographer became more respectable as newspapers themselves instituted a general, if gradual, cleanup. One of the results of this ordeal was a set of clearly printed state laws covering the use of the camera when photographing personalities (Geraci, 1990, p. 154).

As the 20th century began, rapid progress was being made in the printing process, all of it beneficial to the cause of photojournalism. "The stage was set for the inevitable marriage of camera and press, a union which was to have a profound influence on the course of human communication, existing even to present day" (Geraci, 1990, p. 154). Sociologist Lewis W. Hine started to publicize the exploitation of child labour in American factories which triggered a crusade to force the enactment of child labour laws. Jacob A. Riis, a newsman, taught himself photography to illustrate "how the other half lived". His published photographs brought about housing reform in New York. The man whom many call "the father of modern photojournalism" – Erich Salomon – owes his success partly to the fast (for their day) lenses and film which made "available–light" photography possible. Salomon, a publishing house executive, also taught himself

photography, to avoid having to hire outsiders. His "candid camera" photography influenced amateurs and professionals the world over. Photographers working for publications clamoured for equipment which, like Salomon's, would enable them to carry their cameras into all areas of life. This "documentation" of various ways of life is one of the chief virtues of photojournalism; and so it was widely assumed to be synonymous with truth. An unaltered photograph "cannot lie" whereas words can be turned, consciously or unconsciously, to the will of the writer. "Documentary" photography has been used repeatedly to disclose war, poverty, and neglect. Often criticized as "ashcan" photography (which some may be), it has been documentary photography which has most contributed to the stature of photojournalism among the giants of modern communication (Chapnick, 1994, p. 18).

Two major events underscored this trend, one more brief than the other. First, there was the documentation of America's depression poor by a team of photographers assembled by Roy E. Stryker: Arthur Rothstein, Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, John Vachon and Carl Mydans. But the more durable result of the realization of the power of photojournalism was the birth on November 23, 1936 of *Life* magazine, the first really successful magazine dedicated to the premise that photography – especially current event photography – could sustain a publication. *Life*'s birth was followed two months later by *Look*, a similar pictorial, yet, editorially quite different magazine. *Look* was less interested in current events (although not uninterested) and more interested in the use of the photograph to explore many areas of humankind's environment (Geraci, 1990).

In the early 20th century some forward–thinking newspaper and magazine owners and editors, having witnessed the impact of documentary photography, realized that not only could photos attract readers, but could serve to substantiate

the written claims of writers. Photographs accompanying news stories came to be regarded as more than mere marketing artifices. As such, news photography, many believed, warranted the attention and respect of the journalistic community. In the beginning, it was assumed by the newspaper and news magazine industry that these "new" members of the journalism community would be subject to the same guiding principles, values, and standard of conduct as their colleagues – the reporters and writers. But this became a problem because books, journals, and magazines, written for the photojournalist concentrated on technical education, training, and camera mechanics. At the same time, however, documentary photographer's organizations were growing, maturing, and publishing at a much faster rate, and they were faced with the need to define and understand the profession in terms and values other than mere mechanical expertise.

For news photographers, those photographers working primarily for daily newspaper and news magazines, the closest resemblance to an ethics tradition appearing in textbooks and journals were early discussions on issues such as professional conduct and etiquette (courtesy, politeness, appearance, dress), copyright, and privacy rights. In very early journalism books written before 1940, little attention was paid to the role of the photojournalist, only to the photographic function. Photojournalism ethics, as we have come to appreciate and understand them today, really developed out of the interests and organization of "concerned photographers" [11], and were later developed by the journalism community.

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11 The term concerned photographer was finally coined for the realist photographers by Cornell Capa in 1966. It represents a long tradition of documentary photographers who existed since the advent of photography with no appropriate label prior to 1966. Many of these early concerned photographers later became members of professional photojournalism associations.

The very first textbook to address the ethics of news photography was Albert Hennings's, *Ethics and Practices in Journalism* (1932), and it reflected the views of many of his contemporaries at that time. They viewed photography as a sales gadget, a way to entice readers, not necessarily as a supportive medium, or a technological extension of the written word. A review of early journalism literature reveals that news photographers were regarded as *minor* or *inferior* to news writers, unworthy of the same recognition, status, protection, and pay. This view persisted despite the public's acceptance of photographs as relevant, and the numerous memorable photographs that dominated the covers of newspapers and magazines at the turn of the century. Whenever there were early discussions about the ethics of news photography, they were dominated by the same ethical principles or guidelines derived from a word–driven culture. Owners and editors assumed without question that guidelines developed for the writer/reporter could be made to apply equally and easily to the news photographer. These guidelines may have served photographers adequately in the beginning, but even in the earliest journalism textbooks one can see indications of an emerging and distinctive photo ethics.

Early photojournalism guidelines, found in journals and textbooks from the 1930s to the 1960s, concentrated on ethical issues important to journalism in general but not necessarily related to image/photo ethics. These textbooks raised awareness of ethical issues centred around good and bad taste, indecency, obscenity, invasion of privacy, crime, as well as crime–related issues such as the treatment of victims, witnesses, and the accused. Not until Wilson Hicks's 1964 book, *Words and Pictures,* was the first coherent voice raised for news photographers. Hicks' credits the early reformers, those "concerned photographers" from a variety of related and dependent disciplines, with the

development of schools, and textbooks, that addressed the specific function of the photographer, i.e., that of capturing true images. He also records that little attention was paid to these earlier moral concerns. In the late 1970s, early 1980s, following major technological developments in the field, photojournalism textbooks began to incorporate photojournalism ethics into the general discussion, first by chapter, then as complete textbooks. Most recently, since the introduction of DI technology, a new surge of interest has been aimed at the profession. Today the focus of interest centres on the ethical implications of Digital Imaging technology, and its impact on the news industry. Although the spotlight is now on the veracity of images formed through new technological change, any further discussion surrounding image ethics should be anchored by historical perspective. This means getting clear about what photographers and photojournalists themselves have thought and said about their craft, and what protocols and practices they have developed. It looks to the words and writings of photographers and photojournalists themselves for their incipient ethical concepts. It begins, too, by examining the *roots* of news photography – documentary photography – and proceeds to follow the written legacy of photojournalism ethics.

The modern photojournalist shares a tradition which draws from both the documentary photographer and the journalist. It is a dual dependency that sometimes entails a conflict because of the differences in intent and ethical responsibility. In the 'documentary' tradition,

> photography is not a factual photograph per se. [The documentary photograph] carries with it another thing, a quality [in the subject] that the artist responds to. It is a photograph which carries the full meaning of the episode or the circumstance or the situation that can only be revealed – because you can't really recapture it . . . The

> documentary photographer is trying to speak to you in terms of everyone's experience (Lange, 1982, p. 108).

This is, of course, a serious challenge to journalism codes which stress objectivity, truthfulness, and accuracy. It will become apparent that photojournalism could neither be governed solely by the 'documentary' nor 'journalism' tradition but would need to find it own niche for discussions of ethics.

2.1 *The "Concerned" Documentary Photographer: The Roots of Early Self-awareness in Photojournalism*

Cornell Capa, founder of the International Center of Photography, identified "concerned photographers" and labeled them with a phrase that is integral to any discussion of the photojournalistic ethics tradition. In 1965, Capa, who himself was a photojournalist and who had been curating photography exhibitions on a small scale, proposed an exhibition of the work of six photographers – Robert Capa, Werner Bischof, Chim, Dan Weiner, Andre Kertesz, and Leonard Freed – to the director of New York's Riverside Museum. Capa was charged with finding a *theme* to unify the work of the proposed photographers. While he never defined what it was that he recognized in their work, he did state that the unifying theme connecting their work was a concern for humanity. In essence, their work was connected by content and motive, not just style.

In a search for a more detailed definition of concerned photography, Cornell Capa looked to Lewis Hine, a prominent social reformer of the early 20th century, for inspiration. Cornell found he could organize his and other documentary works around the notion of "concerned photography". Capa wrote:

> Photography is demonstrably the most contemporary of art forms – it is the most vital, effective, and universal means of communication of facts and ideas between people and between nations. It is my personal conviction, however, that production demands and controls exercised by the mass communications media on the photographer today are endangering our artistic, ethical, and professional

> standards and tend to obliterate the individuality of the witness–artist (as quoted in Chapnick, 1994, p. 22).

Capa and other prominent documentary photographers, some from outside the journalistic community, sought to find a "conscience" for news photography. Although it is impossible to know with certainty, in hindsight it seems highly likely these concerned photographers were attempting to find a moral and ethical grounding from which all like–minded photographers could draw for professional comfort. These early ethical photographers had hoped to form a common agreement on mission (and possibly ethics), from which guidelines and standards of conduct would eventually follow. Unfortunately they were also aware that photographers faced opposition from many sources, including newspaper owners, who did not share the view that a professional organization, even a voluntary one, was required for news photographers (Goldberg, 1991).

2.2 Ethics first addressed by Journalism Community: 1930 - 1940

Prior to 1940, news photographers were not considered by journalists and their contemporaries as equals. A typical view of photographers and their profession was first expressed in a 1932 textbook, *Ethics and Practices in Journalism* by Albert Hennings. Hennings, supporting the owners' position, wrote:

> Newspaper photographers can scarcely be considered journalists . . . They do not come into contact with the problems that daily face the man or woman who goes forth to gather facts . . . It is difficult to see wherein the *education* required of a news or editorial writer *would be necessary preparation for the class of work* photographers are required to do (*italics added,* Hennings, 1932, pp. 61,62).

This view of the photojournalist as separate from and unequal to the journalist, and apparently *not* in need of a formal education, is revealing. Hennings's choice of the word "class" underscores a serious distinction in expectation and function between the news photographer and the news writer. This viewpoint is not

surprising given the social and political context in which this opinion was formed. Hennings and others lived in a society reliant on the spoken or written word because it was generally accepted as the most instructive means of eyewitness reporting. Words bore the entire burden of re–creating for the reader someone else's experience. Readers loved and demanded photographs with their news, but the photographs that appeared in the early press where often overly dramatic, dated, and often staged. Owners believed that photographs merely sold newspapers and that the more spectacular the photograph, the more papers would be sold (Chapnick, 1994). It wasn't until a major technological hurdle, i.e., the successful electronic transmission of stills by the Associated Press in 1935 (Lubar, 1993), that photojournalism became a *reliable* and *relevant* means of communication and, as a result, merited the attention it deserved from the journalistic community. A reliable wire service meant that relevant news photographs from all over the world could quickly accompany newspaper and magazine stories. What resulted was the development of a more solidly established profession –photojournalism– and an overall increase in the number of full time photographers and photographic foreign correspondents on the staff of major newspapers and magazines.

The late 1930s to the 1960s represents the apex or heyday of documentary/news photography and photographers. *Life*, *Look*, and *National Geographic* established organs for the photojournalist, and situated the image as a necessary and vital medium of communications. Photography, as witness to history, supplied testimony in the court of public opinion; and photojournalists were the bearers of that witness. For example, today's historical revisionists, who deny the Holocaust ever happened, are confronted by compelling photographic evidence. Margaret Bourke–White's haunting pictures of Buchenwald inmates–

made on April 11, 1945, two days after the arrival of Allied troops– stands as a testament to the brutality and horror of the German concentration camps. Pictures of naked corpses piled into mass graves will forever serve as a visual memorial to the millions of dead Jews, Gypsies, and other Holocaust victims. These photographs bear testimony solely by the fact that they were received as truthful re–presentations of actual events.

Many of the first books dealing with photojournalism and the standards of the practice, were written by documentary/news photographers. In *Photographs of a Lifetime: A Monograph* (1982), Dorothea Lange recalls her long and celebrated career. Reflecting on her earlier work in the 1930s and 1940s, she shares her thoughts on *universal applications* for photojournalists. Her views, as well as the views of other esteemed documentary photographers, provided the foundation from which a professional identity could grow. Lange writes in the 1920s:

> Documentary photography records the social scene of our time. It mirrors the present and documents for the future. Its focus is man in his relation to mankind . . . My own approach is based on three considerations. First–hands off! I do not molest or tamper with or arrange. Second–a sense of place. Whatever I photograph, I try to picture as part of its surroundings, as having roots. Third–a sense of time. Whatever I photograph, I try to show as having position in the past or in the present (Lange, 1982, p. 37).

Dorothea Lange's choice of the term "molest" to repudiate any image adjustment or manipulation reflects her beliefs about the ramifications of such an act: it is invasive, offensive, and unethical. Writer Howard Chapnick offers his interpretation of Lange's and her colleagues' approach:

> Meaningful photojournalism is based on incisive and decisive moment photography. It is the direct antithesis of current photographic illustration which uses manipulated elements to create contrived photographs far removed from reality. Without a sense of

> place defining the locale and a sense of recorded time news photos cannot be judged in their proper context (Chapnick, 1994, p. 17).

So, as early as 1920, concerned photographers were concerned about tampering and decontextualizing photographs. They were also struggling with self–identity issues, which for them was intimately tied up with authenticity, honesty, and realism in their work.

Through the writings of acknowledged photographers such as Dorothea Lange, Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, Robert Capa, W. Eugene Smith, Margaret Bourke–White, and Philippe Halsman, more attention was progressively directed at the profession of photojournalism. Concerned photographers were defined and brought together through shared beliefs and traditions. As a result of their organization and collective lobbying, many important discussions began and resulted in such things as: copyright laws, the formation of photographic publications, and the beginning of professional photojournalism schools (Inglesby, 1990).

One such organization, the Photo League, operated in New York from 1936 to 1951. It is worth noting that when it was founded, the Photo League declared its aim in the language of ethical values:

> Photography has tremendous social value. Upon the photographer rests the *responsibility and duty of recording a true image* of the world as it is today. Photography has long suffered from the stultifying influence of the pictorialists. The Photo League's task is to put the camera back in the hands of *honest* photographers (*italics added,* quoted in Rothstien, 1986, p. 63).

The use of strong moral terms such as 'duty', 'responsibly', 'honesty', and 'true' suggests a keen awareness of a moral authority to which photojournalists must aspire. This awareness of truth as a premier moral value and their responsibility to

uphold high ethical standards, values shared by the journalism community, indicates the development of a distinctive and actualizing professional identity.

As news photographers began to emerge as a profession with an ethically grounded identity, they began to be seriously regarded by educators, professionals, and news organizations. Realizing the potential power of photography, interested members of concerned groups sought ways to advance and protect the credibility of the emerging profession, as well as the credibility of the product. Issues such as conflict of interest, responsibility to the subject, use, ownership, and future consequences of stock images, the manipulation of images —all these began to draw attention which in turn led to more comprehensive written treatments on the subject. Many news photographers began to find themselves distanced from their 'documentary' roots. Expectations and functions, different from those of the average local news photographer, where placed upon celebrated photographers. The great photographers went to interesting locales, were given time and freedom to develop "photographic stories", whereas the average newspaper photographer was given an assignment sheet and was expected to go out, shoot, and return to the news office with a wide variety of photographs. It took some time before the common news photographer was addressed in any meaningful way by the journalism community.

2.3 *Moving Towards a More Comprehensive Understanding of Photojournalism's Ethical Concerns*

Curtis MacDougall's book, *The Press and Its Problems* (1964), a widely used general journalism textbook, provides a general overview of photojournalism, and includes advice for potential news photographers, and even some very questionable tricks–of–the–trade. His advice to readers includes such strategies as: "If a subject constantly hides his face, a cry of 'fire' often will cause persons. . .

to uncover long enough for a speed flash" (p. 342). Mothers with children or single women can be persuaded to pose if a photographer tells them "they are to be entered in beauty or intelligence contests" (p. 342). Underlying MacDougall's commentary was a largely strategic approach to photojournalism that *absolves the photographer from developing any ethical sensitivity or responsibility,* except to get a good photo within the confines of the law. This instructional use of deceptive strategies demonstrates his underlying view of the photographer as someone who is not really a responsible agent. By 1971, however, MacDougall's views had shown considerable growth away from that neutralist position. In his second book, *Pictures Fit to Print...or are They?*(1971), MacDougall documents a number of ethical dilemmas faced by photographers, including photographic deceit. He provides actual cases as examples, and adduces comments from a variety of expert sources, many of which asserted that photographers had ethical responsibilities. Consequently, his second book is the first to cover with any breadth the ethical dilemmas facing photographers. At the same time, it lacks real depth and foundational ethical insight.

Greater insight into the profession of photojournalism came from an advocate for photographers, Wilson Hicks in *Words and Pictures* (1973). Hicks is the first writer to suggest that news writers and photographers were different but equal, and that a professional status for photojournalists was important. Hicks believed, "the intent of photojournalism [was] to create, through combined use of the dissimilar visual and verbal mediums, a oneness of communicative result" (p.5). Photographers and their photographs, he argues, deserve the same respect as writers and their words. Hicks's argument for equal status suggests a need for photographers to be better trained in all areas of news gathering.

> Editors and writers have been brought up on words, facts, ideas; for such were their talents. Had it been feasible for editor and writer to take the pictures it would have been unwise for them to do so, as it was essential that they maintain a detached intellectual viewpoint toward the visual medium. To impose journalism on the photographer was the only alternative (p. 85).

But if writer's skills and photographer's skills and training differed, there was still a need to achieve the "oneness of communicative result" (p. 5). This meant that the photographer would need *additional* training in the journalism tradition, including ethics, since many journalism schools and textbooks now contained ethical instruction. Photojournalists, he believed, would need to take a more active role – through education, training, and professional association – if they wanted to gain a status equivalent to writers and reporters.

Naively, perhaps, Hicks believed that photojournalists trained in journalism schools could easily wed journalism ethics to the documentary photographic tradition. Regarding the news photographer's purpose and need for intellectual enrichment, Hicks writes:

> The photographer's *purpose is to give order* to the chaos of forms which is reality. In seeing clearly, and in understanding what is before his camera, he is able to *organize, condense and define* it so that it will be plain and intelligible in his photograph . . . In this process, the all–important *act of selection* is the overt manifestation of the photographer's judgment. It is in the exercising of this intellectual faculty, rather than in the expressing of his emotions, that his imagination becomes his ready and willing servant (*italics added,* Hicks, 1973, p. 15).

There is a profound ethical imperative in all this which moves into the zone of epistemic responsibility. Unlike the realists, Hicks expresses the growing awareness among news photographers that their photographs were not simply passive records of the days events. Rather, photographs offer the reader a generalization or overview that actively *organizes, condenses,* and *defines* the event

they are sent to cover. That is, the photographer is responsible for choosing a visual interpretation of pre–shutter reality.

Other general photographic textbooks and journals written in the 1970s offered a history of photojournalism complete with some of news photography's most famous pictures. Other books were more instructional concentrating on the mechanics of photography (i.e., lens choices, darkroom procedures, etc.) and tips to improve picture composition. Harold Evans's *Pictures on a Page* (1978), praised principally for its editing instruction, introduces broad ethical considerations to readers. He lays out several scenarios, such as photographing an execution, and invites the readers to think about how they might react and respond to the ethical dilemma given his brief descriptions. Also, he warns photographers of the perils of staging or falsifying a photo by examining some possible consequences of staging. Cliff Edom's *Photojournalism* (1980) includes a brief history of photojournalism, and warns editors not to manipulate images because credibility will suffer. Both Edom and Evans cite as an ethical consideration the rights of the public versus the rights of the individual. They warn students to be sensitive to the concerns of all. They also introduce a few case–scenarios to illustrate that ethical determinations are not black–and–white issues, but should be considered when taking a photograph. Regrettably, Edom and Evans themselves take no clear positions; nor do they offer any suggestions on how to go about making ethical determinations.

Incipient photojournalism ethics, we have argued, originated in the documentary photography tradition and emerged under the guardianship of the broader journalism community. This development is partly evidenced by looking at the textbook literature of the late 1970s and early 1980s. What was regarded as important issues for journalists were assumed to be equally important concerns for the photojournalist. To illustrate: a "hot" debate among journalists, scholars,

and critics was centred around the principle of "journalistic objectivity" (Chapnick, 1994; Schwartz, 1992). Many began to question the concept of "objectivity" of the press, a term the press itself used in many of its early guiding principles. Journalism schools began to move away from the traditional term "objectivity", replacing it with bite-sized concepts such as *accuracy, balance,* and *fairness*. These changes were reflected in photojournalism textbooks. "Objectivity" as a principle was out, and "balance" and "fairness" was in. This would prove to be more problematic for photographers than for writers.

One way fairness could be achieved by writers was by balanced reporting, that is, by presenting both or all sides of a story: for example, obtaining quotes from each of the parties involved, and ensuring that one side does not receive more space than the other. For photographers, to achieve a balanced report was much more of a challenge: just what is a "balanced photograph"? With the possible exception of a wide-angle, panoramic view, any picture chosen for the front page of a newspaper or magazine involved selection; the choice of who to shoot and how to shoot could not easily be addressed by the balance and fairness doctrine. Additionally, as discussed in chapter one, photojournalism has a long and cherished tradition of truthfulness. The impact of the visual image on a viewer comes directly from the enduring belief that the "camera never lies". As a machine, the camera faithfully, unemotionally, and *objectively* records a physical configuration at a moment in time. But a machine is only as truthful as the hands that guide it, and the intention behind it. While most people were prepared to abandon the notion of "objectivity" in journalism, they were less anxious to suspend the same notion in photojournalism. It was becoming clear that photojournalism required a distinctive approach to understanding ethical concerns,

one that would require some special refinements in dealing with ethical concerns such as truthfulness.

2.4 *Accelerating Awareness of Ethical Concerns in the 1980s and 1990s*

Recent textbooks in mass media, photojournalism, and communication have begun to include brief discussions on photojournalism ethics. *Groping for Ethics* (Goodwin & Smith), first written in 1983, discussed such themes as hidden cameras, posed shots, gruesome pictures, sexually offensive images, and invasion of privacy. They also addressed the issue of whether the photojournalist should first take a picture of someone in crisis, or drop the equipment and help that person. Recognizing the paucity of coherent studies of journalism ethics, Goodwin and Smith urge an increase in general moral literacy based on a grasp of principles and something more than neutral case descriptions. The authors call for,

> a system of ethics in journalism based on principles . . . every thinking journalist can accept. We take more of a prescriptive tack because of our strong suspicion that journalists, particularly younger ones, need more guidance in ethical decision making in an age in which narcissism and moral illiteracy and confusion seem to be dangerously on the rise (Goodwin and Smith, 1994, p. vi).

Although Goodwin and Smith do not supply a separate section on photojournalism, they do incorporate the photojournalist into their search for general journalistic principles, with equal status ascribed to both jobs. In one three–page subsection of their text, they address the issue of manipulating news.

> That idea that writers get quotes wrong is not new to most readers. They've all heard characters in movies and on TV accuse reporters of putting words in their mouths. But newspaper and news magazine readers and TV news viewers give great credibility to the pictures they see. "Seeing is believing" is an even older saying than "The jerk misquoted me" (Goodwin and Smith, 1994, p. 235).

The historical covenant the photographer has with the reader suggests that photographers owe the readers additional responsibility when taking photographs so as not to erode the readers' trust and ultimate respect for the photograph as an authentic re–presentation.

Goodwin and Smith offer three examples of photographic manipulation in their book: the 1981 staging of newspaper photograph (the Zeiloft case)[12], the 1982 computer manipulation of the pyramids of Egypt by *National Geographic,* and the *Orange County (Calif.)* alteration of a photograph in which a technician zipped up a young man's pants. Generalizing from these three case examples, Goodwin and Smith (p. 235, 236) cite three main categories or reasons for altering a photo: "to liven up routine coverage", to "make the picture fit", and for "noble purpose[s]", although no definition of noble purpose is provided. Goodwin and Smith do not supply clear foundations or criteria for making ethical decisions. They do, however, comment that the *Chicago Tribune, The Dallas Morning News,* and the *Associated Press* have policies that deal with the ethics of photo–imaging technology. They, for instance, do not alter photos. In Goodwin and Smith's view such policies are too rigid and unrealistic. They cite Deni Elliot who says that, "[i]f the manipulation of images creates a false depiction of reality, the manipulation is deceptive "(p. 236). They agree with her, but add that certain kinds of changes are not deceptive:

> *The Orange County Register* did nothing wrong when it made the sky bluer in its pictures of the explosion of the Space shuttle *Challenger*

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12 A photographer from the St. Petersburg Times was caught after a rival claimed he staged a picture. In attempting to liven up a routine picture of a baseball game between Eckerd College and Florida Southern, Norman Zeiloft asked a barefoot student in the stands to print "Yeah, Eckerd" on the soles of his feet (Christians, C. & Rotzoll, K. & Fackler, M. 1987, p. 62–63).

> because the *intent was not to deceive* the public but to show the sky more as it appeared on TV (*italics added,* Elliot, 1991, p. 237).

Their rejoinder is interesting because it seems to imply that certain *qualitative* enhancements are acceptable. Goodwin and Smith also raise another important philosophical question: which is most truthful, black–and–white print film with its inherent technical limitation when it records a rich blue sky as pale gray, television, or the eyes of the photographer? While they raise an important question, they do little to supply an answer.

Defending the alteration of images using DI technology, Goodwin and Smith defer to Lou Hodges who contends that the only reason people get so upset about technology is that they believe the "myth" that photographs objectively portray an event. Photographers cannot avoid an element of subjectivity at the very moment when they decide to take or not to take a picture. Hodges argues:

> And once the noteworthy event has been chosen and the photographer is on the scene, other crucial value judgments follow: What aspect of the scene is most important and how do I capture it? What angle, background, framing, light, distance, moment to shoot? (*as quoted,* Goodwin and Smith, 1993, p. 237).

Hodge's point has been made by many other writers – Sheila Reaves, Christopher Harris, Douglas Parker, Howard Chapnick, Ken Kobre, and Edwin Martin– who also point out that even in a traditional darkroom photographers routinely use techniques to emphasize parts of the photo or remove elements of the photograph that do not contribute to the photograph's major emphasis. In this view, "the real challenge of photo–editing computers is to . . . produce better pictures" (Hodges, 1991, p.7). What constitutes a "better" picture is unclear. Is a "better" picture a more truthful and accurate re–presentation of the event as the realists would assert? Or is a "better" picture a more aesthetically pleasing photograph that is

also able to take the viewer beyond the particular to the general or universal message, as the documentary tradition prescribes?

A review of contemporary literature reveals that today's photojournalists believe photographs stand for something more than obvious re–presentation. These photojournalists see their photos as enabling the viewer to move beyond the singularity of exposure, to a broader understanding of the event. In that way, the photojournalist's photograph is more than a true record: It is designed to interpret the event. This represents a moving away from– or beyond– the strict realist doctrine. Photojournalism schools, textbooks, and manuals began to incorporate this 'interpretivist' point of view, however subtly, into a general discussion on ethics.

Frank Hoy, one of the first to devote an entire chapter on ethics in his textbook, *Photojournalism: The Visual Approach* (1986), addresses a wide range of ethical issues: privacy rights; copyright infringement; the staging of photographs. Interestingly, he asserts that photographers should not have to worry about ethical issues when shooting, a variation on the shoot–first–ask–questions–later policy. Hoy worries that the photojournalists simply do not have the *time* to make ethical deliberations; so rather than miss a good photo opportunity, they should just shoot and make ethical determinations later. In short, the primary ethical choice is not erased, but only postponed.

Ken Kobre's *Photojournalism: The Professionals Approach* (1991) also includes an entire chapter on photojournalism ethics with updated information on the digital imaging revolution. Kobre explains the practical utility of Digital Imaging (DI) technology and how it has revolutionized the traditional newsroom. He also discusses the changing role of staff and the increased impetus placed on time. He cautions his reader about the "potential abuses" the availability of DI

technology allows, and provides some published examples. He does not explain why he regards such cases as improper. He simply implies that cases of misuse result in a loss of credibility which can be very dangerous for the profession.

A number of themes are common to all the above cited photojournalism textbooks: a history of photojournalism, a discussion of what constitutes an aesthetically good photograph (from candid photographs to portraits), narrative styles[13], and shooting within the boundaries of the law. Usually it is within this last category that ethical considerations are raised. Ironically, the writers offer little indication on how to go about arriving at ethical determinations. They simply state that care must be taken, otherwise photojournalism's credibility will suffer.

Only a few undergraduate textbooks have offered extended discussions of photojournalism ethics. One outstanding current treatment of photojournalism ethics is, *Photojournalism: An Ethical Approach* (1991), by Paul Lester. His text stands out as the first comprehensive textbook to look at photojournalism largely from a philosophical and ethical perspective. The first part of his book outlines a number of philosophical approaches (e.g. Six major philosophies: Bentham's and Mill's Utilitarianism; Hedonism; Aristotle's Golden Mean; Kant's Categorical Imperative; Rawl's Veil of Ignorance; the Golden Rule) which he later applies to a number of moral dilemmas faced by the photojournalist. For example, should a picture of a drowned boy being pulled from the river be published? What social value does such a photo have? What responsibility does the photojournalist have to the child's family? Should the picture be shot regardless, and the decision to publish be made later by the photo-editor? Lester also provides another complete

13 'Narrative styles' includes: choice of film, filters, points of view, use of natural or fill lighting (strobe/flash), picture editing, use of close-ups, high or low angles, catching candid shots, use of tripods, anticipation and timing, etc.

chapter on the issues of photographic manipulation and supplies a number of relevant examples of its current uses. He shows, too, how, through certain philosophical positions, such photographs could be defended or rejected. Lester outlines some of photojournalism's pitfalls:

> The media have been criticized for showing so many gruesome images that the public has hardened toward violent injustices. There is a growing concern that new technological advances that allow easy and undetectable picture manipulation cause the public to be unconcerned about the truthful content of photographs as well. With the acceptance of television "docu–dramas" that show fiction within a factual framework, it is not surprising that news organizations have used Hollywood techniques to create facts. When pyramids are moved and moons enlarged for cover pictures of well–respected photojournalism publications, the public grows cynical and mistrustful of journalism. The Hedonism philosophy is taken to its most exaggerated point when business, not telling the truth, is the prime concern (Lester, 1991, p. 90).

Clearly, Lester worries about the future credibility of photojournalism. And like every writer before him who expressed concerns about credibility failure, Lester supplies few compelling resolutions in image ethics.

We have already seen this approach of pointing out published image-manipulations in the print press, and then raising concerns about its appropriateness, is a common practice among current writers in the field (including Sheila Reaves, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1995b; Christopher Harris, 1991; Edwin Martin, 1987; and Douglas Parker, 1988). But while this kind of approach is helpful in identifying issues, it does little in the way of offering an overall theoretical direction and resolution.

One writer who makes an attempt to move beyond the 'typical' discussion of photojournalism ethics is Howard Chapnick in his book *Truth Needs No Ally: Inside Photojournalism* (1994). In his introduction he discusses the importance of the photograph and its relationship to words:

> The invention of the camera will rank with the invention of the printing press as a dominating influence in human development . . . The photograph does not exist in a communications vacuum. It almost always needs amplification with words and graphics. It propagandizes and memorializes, and it penetrates the human psyche (Chapnick, 1994, p. 1).

He goes on to argue:

> High quality journalism chooses reality over escapism, words and pictures with maturity, judgment, and analysis rather than blandness or vacuousness. The best of our photojournalists are not concerned with the sensibilities of their viewers. They do not shrink from the unpleasant or the controversial. They recognize the need for the visual recording of some of the unspeakable actions of man in this supposedly enlightened century (*ibid.*, p. 9 –10).

Clearly Chapnick holds truthful re–presentation as a premier value.

In the section of his book dedicated to ethics, Chapnick states that "ethics, journalistic responsibility, credibility, good taste, and professional behavior are interrelated" (p. 293). Writers, photographers, or broadcast journalists can influence judgments people make on the crucial issues of our time.

> We had better be honest and accurate with every picture we select and think about the consequences of each picture taken. The roots of photography lie in reality. Almost daily that reality is corrupted by irresponsible photographers and editors . . . Every time a photographer takes a false picture, every time an editor publishes an untrue picture, our believability goes down the tube (*ibid.*, p. 293, 294).

> It is clear that journalists must lean over backward to preserve not only the appearance but the reality of ethical behavior (*ibid.*, p. 295).

It is clear that Chapnick is a realist in the sense that he believes a photograph should truthfully and faithfully record that which lies before the camera at the moment the shutter is triggered. In addition, he stresses the importance of the

photojournalist's humanity as the underpinning of their work, a belief first expressed by the early documentary photographers.

Chapnick situates the topic of image manipulation as a central issue in his thesis, and in the current ethics scene as well.

> This new technology (electronic still camera systems) has prompted concern in the photojournalistic community that we are at the frontier of widespread abuse that will deeply affect the credibility of journalistic photography. Equal doubts are expressed about the photographer's copyright protection as he envisions the selection and combination of visual elements from several photographs, which create new images with new meanings. These are real concerns magnified by the technological ingenuity of our time (*ibid.*, p. 297).

Chapnick agrees that there is no justification for the alteration of a journalistic photograph. After citing a number of published photographic manipulations by international publications, such as *National Geographic* and *Time*, he illustrates his point of view by citing the Senator Millard Tyding's case as an example on how a fabricated picture could destroy a political career, or a publication's credibility. He argues that,

> A news photograph is sacrosanct. It is witness to history. It tells the story of an event . . . No editor, art director, or designer has the *right* to undermine the veracity of the photograph or to compromise its integrity (*italics added, ibid.*, p. 298).

He is unequivocal as well that the protection of the photograph's veracity is a paramount moral value.

> Photojournalists should *take* pictures, not *make* pictures. Press photography. . . . provides an eye of authority, a necessary role in our need to establish the credibility of the flow of images for more than 150 years has interpreted and documented our times (*ibid.*, p. 306).

Howard Chapnick's comments, once again, reflect a commitment to the epistemic values of truth in the product, and of credibility in the process and the photographer.

Chapnick explores a sequence of manipulation in order to find a viable code, however gray, of ethical behaviour that photojournalists can live with. He divides manipulation into four categories: 1) Alterations in the Lab; 2) Electronic Manipulation; 3) Setting Up Photographs; and finally, 4) When Pictures are Set Up for You. The following schematic is taken directly from Chapnick's text (pp. 307 – 312) and offers proscriptions and allowances under each of these categories:

1. **Alterations in the Lab:**
   - avoid tampering with the negative or transparency
   - cropping should be avoided if possible because it dilutes the impact of added information
   - Negative sandwiching is unacceptable
   - Retouched reality is an oxymoron

2. **Electronic Manipulation:**
   - avoid the temptation to create photographic fiction

3. **Setting Up Photographs:**
   - there is no excuse in the 1990s due to the changes in camera and film technology to manipulate people in real-life situations or to preconceive a decisive moment
   - "setting up" is not only acceptable but almost imperative for photojournalists called upon to make significant or environmental portraits
   - Portraits are the ultimate set ups

4. **When Pictures are Set Up for You (Photo-ops):**
   - since they are designed by handlers to manipulate the media for image-building they have no relation to reality to begin with
   - more truthful moments can often be found after the pack photojournalists have left the scene

Howard Chapnick offers lots of advice on what to do or not do regarding photographic alteration. Unfortunately, there is no clear theoretical basis which might explain how he arrived at such moral determinations. Chapnick's contribution to the image ethics debate lies in the way he classifies image adjustments into a number of distinctive categories. Based on Chapnick's catalogue, an alternative categorization may help to establish a sequence whereby we can approach the whole issue of manipulation more systematically. A reframed categorization includes: Pre–shutter manipulation (staging, using props, photo–ops, etc.); camera alterations (point of view, lens choice, etc.); alterations in the lab (flipping negatives, dodging and burning, etc.); and, electronic alterations (cloning images, removing objects, tampering and inventing whole new scenes, etc.). Understanding that decisions to alter can be made at different stages in the photographic process, e.g., at the event or as the photo is being prepared for publishing, amplifies our understanding of the quantity of time a photojournalist has to make ethical decisions. Often we assume that ethical determinations are made quickly. Chapnick reminds us that while there are instances which may require decisive action, often there is time in the process to reflect and make better choices. Intention and choice figure prominently in Chapnick's ethic. He writes:

> granted that selective eyes and selective lenses give pictures greater subjectivity, but to "lie" means to *deliberately* deceive. The selectivity practiced by a photographer is little different from the subjective observations of a word journalist . . . Cameras don't lie, people do. But *responsible* photographers *should try* to photograph things as they are not the way they would like them to be (*italics added,* Chapnick, 1994, p. 312).

The credibility of the photographer as well as his/her ethical predispositions are vital elements in responsible photojournalism.

2.5 The Current Status of the Ethics Debate

Driven by technological advances in imaging and printing technology, photojournalism has more and more attended to image ethics and the impact that DI technology is having on photojournalism's credibility. A number of scholars have figured prominently in these discussions.

Sheila Reaves gathers and discusses empirical data collected by interviews with a number of leading photojournalists and editors. She asks them to respond, either by survey or interview, to a number of questions on the appropriate use of DI technology in newspapers and magazines. Reaves's works indicates there is both considerable consensus and confusion in the journalism community about which photographic adjustments are appropriate, and under which conditions. Unfortunately, Reaves's work offers little in the way of attempting to explain the underlying reasons why photo-editors and art directors, the primary focus of her research, felt or acted the way they did. This, in turn, might reflect her own insufficient concern with ethical theory and grounding principles.

Christopher Harris with his article, *Digitization and Manipulation of News Photographs*, represents the majority of current writers who have deliberated on the issue (1991). Harris illustrates a number of recent questionable manipulations that appeared in news magazines, and calls for some systematic decision–making principles and also for accountability. Harris provides three steps for a partial solution to his demand: 1) identify that computers are not the problem, people are; 2) set forth real enforceable guidelines (which most writers believe are unenforceable); 3) increase peer pressure. Without a doubt, well defined, theoretically–grounded, and enforceable guidelines would be helpful, as would the support of media peers.

Edwin Martin's approach to the subject of photographic alteration is more indeterminate. He writes, "[w]e presume that deception, in general, is morally wrong; and it is presumed that certain kinds of photographic manipulations will cause viewer deception" (Martin, 1987, p. 52). Martin sees a link between manipulation and deception, which he believes makes the issue an ethical one. But the criteria by which a photo is judged deceptive are debatable. Martin acknowledges that,

> [a] photograph manipulated *without any warning or sign to the viewer might create false expectations, [and is] thus deceiving* them. DI retouching may or may not deceive the reader, not the esthete, and therefore be *morally wrong* in the hands of the newspaper photographer though not in the hands of the artist (*Italics added,* Martin, 1991, p. 159).

Martin's view illustrates a *qualification* of the early tradition of concerned photographers who believed that the majority (or all) of manipulations are deceptive regardless of tagging. In a later article (1991), Martin offers another approach to the study of photographic alteration. He looks at some *presentational contexts* in which photographs have been altered, and explores the morality in determining standards for manipulation that centre on concepts of deception and credibility. Martin's identification and explanation of *presentational contexts* resulted in an additional study by Sheila Reaves. In her 1995 empirical study, Reaves finds a large tolerance for alteration in photographs judged to be "soft news" or "illustrative" news photography, and a lower tolerance for those viewed as "spot–news" photos, pictures of unscheduled events for which no advance planning was possible (Reaves, 1995).

Since the mid to late 1980s, many articles and seminars have addressed the use of DI technology, and its impact on still and video news photography. Yet, the

photojournalism community still appears inadequately prepared to deal with the rapid technological changes facing them.

In summary, then, the increased awareness and development of photojournalism ethics was not linear. Important issues such as 'truth', 'truthfulness', 'honesty', 'fairness', 'ethical responsibility', 'duty', and credibility of the profession emerged from the documentary photography tradition, and carried over to photojournalists who were, for the most part, regulated by the broader journalism community. And, while journalists and photojournalists shared many common concerns, there was a growing awareness of the differences that needed to be addressed separately. Photojournalists had to struggle with issues that journalist did not.

This chapter has traced the growing awareness of photojournalism ethics through records, written treatments, and by examining what photojournalists have said and thought about their craft, their profession, and their ethical responsibility. The literature review reveals that, other than a few caveats, the study of photographic–image ethics discloses little in the way of systematically organizing, categorizing, and developing a coherent theoretical body of study. The lack of a coherent, systematic, and formally developed approach to the study and use of DI technology in the newsroom reminds us that technology has once again outrun ethical and professional conventions, and that a new approach to dealing with image adjustments and manipulations is necessary, particularly when dealing with new image technologies.

3.0 A TYPOLOGY OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ADJUSTMENT AND MANIPULATION

Every photograph is the result of adjustments which render its relation to any pre–shutter reality deeply problematic. The simple idea that a photograph re–presents a three dimensional reality on to a two–dimensional plane complicates any assertions that there is *truth,* or *exact correspondence* to the pre–photographic referent. To make a photograph, the projected image of an object has to be focused, cropped, and distorted by the flat, rectangular plate of the camera which owes its structure not to the human eye, but to a particular theoretical conception of the problem of representing space in two dimensions (Tagg, 1988). Hence, by manipulating a number of mechanical variables (e.g., shutter speed, film speed, or focal length) an altered image will result. Contrary to the early descriptions of photography as "a chemical and physical process", we have come to appreciate that taking a picture involves more than just chemistry and mechanics: There is also a human element. Therefore, any discussion of photographic alteration must also be mindful of artistic preferences, social expectation, and practices. The presumption that there is some original natural state, "some default position that has been tampered with or falsified, from which manipulation has proceeded" (Ritchen, 1990, p. 2) is enormously problematic in most discussions about image re–presentation, particularly in photojournalism, since it is a profession that ranks truth and accuracy as premier values. It is also problematic for those who must determine what is permissible given the inherent unavoidability of two dimensionality, a history of allowing certain types of technical/mechanical adjustments, a human tendency toward individual artistic expression, and a competitive market environment to which photographic images are put to use.

Every photograph, because it must re–present a three dimensional reality on a two dimensional plane, ineluctably entails some element of adjustment.

There is no *exact correspondence* to the object–scene before the camera at the moment the shutter is triggered, only degrees of *likeness* or *congruence.* In photojournalism, where truth and accuracy are important canons, it is not surprising that questions arise about the appropriateness of succeeding changes– or changes of a less unavoidable nature – to the pre–photographic referent re–presented in the photograph. In particular, if we are to deal with problems raised by the newer technologies, specifically Digital Imaging and its applications, we need to refine our understanding of photographic adjustments and manipulations. The old adage that "photos don't lie" is increasingly questionable in the new technological context. Byron Scott, head of the News Editorial Department at the University of Missouri's School of Journalism, expresses this growing concern:

> Not until this decade have we had the ability to edit [a photograph] in a way that no one could tell that it had been edited. We've had an imperfect ability to lie with photographs for as long as we've had the ability to lie with words. But pictures have always had a credibility that words have not. With the new technology, the question is no longer what can we do, but what ought we do? (quoted in C. Harris, 1991, p. 165)

The question, "what ought we do" also entails an equivalent, "what ought we not to do". This is the question facing photojournalists, photo-editors, and the public today.

This thesis argues that there is a difference between adjusting a photograph technically, and manipulating a photograph. Adjusting a photograph suggests an unavoidable or minimal technical alteration that has a relatively neutral effect on the content of the photograph. Manipulation of the photograph, on the other hand, involves an intended alteration of the content that affects the truthfulness of the post–photographic image. It is akin to deception, lying, or falsifying. However, before any attempt is made to discuss the ethics of image alteration in a

meaningful way, it is first necessary to analyze the terminology and language of photography and photographic alteration.

One dilemma faced by writers and researchers when discussing image ethics, ethics centred around the photograph and its representativeness, is the often conflicting terminology coming from a wide variety of disciplines. Each discipline, it appears, approaches "image talk" with its own terms, codes, definitions, and precedent theories. This thesis takes a multi–dimensional approach to the problem, and integrates viewpoints from a broad cross–section of disciplines including communication, film studies, and the arts. It offers a typology of adjustments and manipulations which attempts to convey some degree of *order* to the techniques currently available to the photojournalist. The aim of this exercise is to refine the language of image adjustments and manipulations, at first, in a relatively value–neutral way, by isolating techniques available to the photojournalist, in order to secure a common language with regard to image adjustment and manipulation. Out of this we can develop a typography of acceptable uses. The typology is based on impressions and viewpoints gathered from a number of sources, including photojournalists and photo-editors, as well as from existing research on the industry's attitudes towards photographic alteration and manipulation in newspapers and magazines (Reaves, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1995; Martin, 1987, 1991; C. Harris, 1991). Pictorial re–presentation is a category distinct from word representation. If readers are to search out the "truthfulness" of pictorial content in newspapers and magazines, it needs to be identified, translated, and agreed upon. "Like any language, pictorial language has its own codes, symbols, nuances, signs, metaphors, ambiguities and the like" (Richards, Zakia, 1981, p. 117). Agreeing on the terminology of adjustment and

manipulation, then, is an important first step in any responsible study of DI technology and its effect on news re–presentation.

Adjustments, alterations, and manipulations can occur at various points in the photographic process. Howard Chapnick's(1994) categorization of types of manipulations and where they occur in the process (pre–shutter manipulation; camera alterations; alterations in the lab), seem to support this notion. Thus, adjustments, both benign and injurious to the integrity of the image, can occur before the shutter is triggered; before and after the photographic image has been captured on film negative or as digital code; and again, as the photo is incorporated into a presentational context (how it is used to accompany a story). In short, adjustments may occur as: a) pre–shutter arrangements, b) text alterations, and c) alterations arising from the use of the image–text.

3.1 Typology of Technical Adjustments

Since 1839, when Daguerre made public his photographic process, photographers have been making technical adjustments to their photographs. Among the most commonly used are exposure adjustments, point of view, lens choice, use of corrective and/or special–effects filters, dodging and burning, cropping an image, flipping an image, airbrushing, use of colouring/tinting chemicals, cutting and pasting, and, pre–photographic staging (Lester, 1991; Kobre, 1991; Ritchen, 1990). Digital imaging (DI) technology, by far the most revolutionary photographic innovation of this century, presents a new matrix of alterations, and raises the level of concerns for those interested in the ethics debate.

Some may argue that point of view (or POV), cutting and pasting, and pre–photographic staging, belong to a distinct category, since they are so different from the technical mechanics of photography. They have been included in this

typography for different reasons. First, they represent *techniques* available to, and commonly used by, photojournalists. Second, they are often cited alongside technical adjustments in most research studies and articles on the topic of DI technology and its use (Reaves, 1993, 1995; Martin, 1987, 1991; C. Harris, 1991). Third, although once considered strictly "illustrative" devices, these techniques are being used with increased frequency in hard news (Reaves, 1995; Martin, 1991). Fourth, these devices are becoming undetectable given that DI technology is increasingly pervading the newsroom. For the above reasons, as well as for the fact that these "adjustments" sometimes refer to manipulative and deceptive practices, they are included in this section.

The following diagram (Chart 1.1) outlines the typography of adjustments and manipulations to be discussed in more detail throughout this chapter. It is important to note that this typology is by no means absolute or final. It is, rather, an inherited typology: It summarizes and arranges photographic techniques cited and discussed by photojournalists and photo-editors in articles, journals, and books.

Chart 1.1 A Typology of Photographic Adjustment and Manipulation

Adjustment/Manipulation Technique	Description	Affects/Effects/Consequence	Motive
1. Exposure adjustments	- adjustments of aperture (f/stop), shutter speed, and film speed	- affects focal length and ability to stop action - there is a trade-off between stopping action (increase/decrease in shutter speed) and depth of field (decrease/increase in aperature), and film speed (6-1000 ASA)	- choice to use is driven by subject (must use fast film and small shutter speed (f/2- f/5.6) to stop a fast moving object, conversely, in order to maintain a sharp focus over a large distance a large aperature setting must be used (f/8- f/22)) - manipulated for creative purposes
2. Point of View (POV)	- direction of lens; using a point of view different than eye level	- alters the 'normal' (eye-level) perspective to which viewers are accustomed - influential in how a viewer will interpret image	- used commonly for emotional effect - shooting upward can make a person appear more powerful; shooting downward can make person appear weak or helpless.
3. Lens choice	- focusing device with aperture function - Types for 35mm: Normal (55mm), Long/Telephoto (85-200mm) Short/wide-angle (24-50mm) Special purpose: fisheye, zoom, macro, micro, soft-focus	- controls focus and framing - as a consequence the image is often condensed or stretched - objects and their relationships remain undisturbed	- used for technical and creative purposes
4. Corrective Filters	- modifies light waves passing through lens - most common: UV filter, Polarizing filter, and colour correction filters.	- used to correct camera/lens/film/ processing flaws or undesirable occurences	- improve problematic/damaged image - used for technical and creative purposes

Adjustment/Manipulation Technique	Description	Affects/Effects/Consequence	Motive
5. Special Effects Filters	- modifies light waves - most common: prisms, cross screen, star, fog, diffusion and split field.	- distorts light waves for aesthetic effect	- used to enhance image aesthetically - used primarily for creative purposes
6. Dodging and burning	- adding or subtracting light during development/printing	- used primarily for highlighting - objects in photo are not physically altered; only lightened or darkened	- used to correct for imperfect lighting conditions - used to highlight/subdue a portion of print
7. Cropping	- reframing of original print	- done to eliminate distracting background objects or to enlarge main subject	- used to isolate important portions of photo - may remove vital objects from photo - used primarily for aesthetic/layout purposes
8. Flipping an image	- switches the left side to the right side	- manipulation of objects: reverses reality and the symmetry of people's faces; flips text	- used primarily for aesthetic/layout purposes
9. Airbrushing	- paint treatment for negatives and prints	- adds or removes objects from photo	- used primarily for beautification - potential exists to add or subtract both vital or innocuous objects from photo
10. Colouring/tinting	- adjustment of colours, hues, and saturation	- does not disturb objects' relationships to one another - excessive use alters interpretation of photo	- used for technical and creative purposes to create mood

Adjustment/Manipulation Technique	Description	Affects/Effects/Consequence	Motive
11. Cutting and pasting (Montage)	- isolation and resituation of object(s) in a photograph	- direct manipulation of objects	- humour - deception
12. Staging	- manipulation of subject and setting prior to taking photograph	- deceptive pre-photographic practice	- misleads reader - deceptive
13. Digital Imaging	- computer imaging technology that performs all conventional adjustments, plus many more - image is encoded as digital code - no original negatives	- colour correction and enhancement - cropping - lightening and darkening of portions of photograph - cutting and pasting - cloning - image construction	- flawless removal of objects (both innocuous and vital) - flawless addition of objects - flawless reconstruction of image - flawless subtraction and addition of colours

Sources:

Bomback, E. S., (1972) *Manual of Colour Photography*;
Kobre, K. (1991) *Photojournalism: The Professionals Approach*,
Upton, B. (1989) *Photography*, 4th. ed.
Kodak Corporation Web Site (Nov. 1995): http://www.kodak.com/dailHome/DC40/Features.shtml

The first *class* of adjustment in the typography warranting attention, and perhaps the one most intrinsic to the photographic process, is ***exposure adjustments***. Exposure adjustments are dictated primarily by subject matter. If photographers need to clearly capture on film a fast–moving object, they will need to use a high shutter speed and/or film speed. The trade–off for using a high shutter speed (1/250th to 1/2000th of a second) is that, in order to capture the object clearly on film, the photographer sacrifices depth of field, the distance in meters a lens in able to hold the image in focus. Conversely, if photographers need to maintain clarity over a large distance they must use a lower shutter speed (1/30th of a second to 8 seconds) and/or a higher film speed (400 ASA to 1000 ASA[14]). This give–and–take relationship between the three dependent, interactive camera variables – aperature setting, shutter speed, and film speed – forces the photographer to make choices that will effect zones of representativeness in the final product –the photograph. The interaction of the exposure variables *does not* substantially alter the objects in the image. It may throw objects in the fore– or background out of focus (intentionally or unintentionally), but the basic integrity of the objects in the photo – its narrativity – remains unchanged.

The **point of view (POV)**, or direction of a camera when the shutter is triggered, is determined both by the photographers' personal choices and by the situation in which they may find themselves (i.e., lens availability, presence or absence of obstacles, etc.). Most photographers shoot at eye–level. This

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14 ASA is an acronym for American Standards Association and denotes a speed system with which manufactures may "rate" their film in terms of sensitivity to light. The higher the number the faster the speed of the film. ASA ratings have a strict arithmetical progression: 400 ASA is twice as fast as 200 ASA (Hedgecoe, Knopf, 1984).

perspective is akin to personal observation: it represents what the average viewer would see if he or she were there on location. The choice to deviate from the standard is sometimes unavoidable, as photographers may find themselves physically limited by objects in the environment, or confined to specific locations designated for the media.

The choice of angle is not a neutral choice: it has interpretative consequences. For example, shooting upward can make a subject appear more powerful than shooting the same subject at eye level. This POV was used by *Time* photographers (Aug. 13, 1991) to accompany a story on the growth of urban gangs in America. The upward angle of the camera, in combination with lighting techniques, and perhaps some pre–shutter subject arrangement, conveyed to the reader an exaggerated sense of power and menace by the subjects. Conversely, shooting downwards has the opposite effect, making the subject appear weak or helpless. For instance, it is easy to argue that when the appropriate POV is used to enhance a politician's standing, the ulterior motive is to manipulate public opinion (Boorstin, 1971). This argument is better addressed in the section on *staging*, since, in many cases, the POV of the photograph is predetermined by someone other than the photographer.

There are literally over a hundred **lenses** available to the photojournalist, but only a few suited for an assignment. The typical reserve of lens in a photojournalist's bag are the "normal" 55mm (it is the one recommended and sold with most 35mm cameras); the "long/telephoto" (85–200mm), which magnifies the subject so as to allow the photojournalist to shoot from a long distance; and the "short/wide angle" lens (24–50mm), which allows the photojournalist to capture a wide field from a relatively short distance (Kobre, 1990). Also available to the photojournalist are a number of special purpose lens: the fisheye, zoom,

macro, micro, and soft focus. The zoom lens, many of which are available on the market with a wide range of magnifications, is a good multi–purpose lens. Professionals tend to avoid the zoom lens because, in order to achieve the range of distances that can be framed and focused, they often sacrifice depth–of–field and clarity. The trade–off for the zoom's facility is often condensed or stretched images.

The choice of lens is determined both by the photographer's physical proximity to the subject and the degree of background they may wish to include in the frame. For example, two lenses can produce a similar photograph of an object. However, depending on whether the photographer shoots the photograph close to the subject using a wide angle lens, or from a distance using a telephoto lens, the amount of background and the degree to which the subject is either stretched or condensed, would be different. The degree of stretching or condensing is directly related to the quality, type, and the length of lens.

While there are technical and other factors associated with POV and lens choice, there is also a great deal of artistic latitude associated with their use. The photojournalist often decides whether to shoot a subject from below or from above, at an extreme close–up, or at a long distance. And while these decisions do not substantially mar the truthfulness or accuracy of the photograph– there are no alterations to the objects being photographed– it does affect the way the readers interpret the photograph. In that way, there is the potential that a certain composition could mislead or deceive the reader.

Corrective filters and special–effect filters, attach to either the lens of the camera or the lens of an enlarger. Filters are used to modify the light rays reaching the film of the camera. By removing undesired wavelengths or portions of the spectrum, a photographer can change the way in which the film records the

image seen by the lens. Filters vary in colour and density according to the job they are designed to do. The two most commonly used **corrective filters** are the *ultra violet (UV) filter* and the *polarizing filter*. UV or haze filters, for example, are virtually colourless, yet they restrict the passage of ultraviolet rays, invisible to the eye, from being recorded on film. The polarizing filter does not alter the colour quality, but simply helps to create stronger and richer colours by eliminating some of the light scattered from non–metallic reflective surfaces. Corrective filters modify light waves, but they *do not* alter the content of the photograph.

Special–effect filters do not absorb light rays as such, but they do produce various image changes that may or may not enhance visual appeal. For example, prism attachments multiply and superimpose the subject image, while cross screens or star filters amplify, refract and modify point light sources (i.e., sun glistening off the surface of a car will appear to glisten in a star formation).

Generally, filters are used only for corrective purposes, or to make the final product–the photograph–more closely *resemble* or *fit* the photographer's view of the actual event. They do more to enhance truth and accuracy than to reduce them. Special–effect filters, on the other hand, do manipulate and distort images, but seldom are they used in photojournalism except, perhaps, for illustrative purposes.

If the desired effect of the photograph is to highlight the subject, there are several ways that can be achieved: by use of pre–photographic spot lighting; through a special effects filter applied to the lens when shooting; and, during the printing process. As stated earlier, there are various points in the photographic process where adjustments and manipulations can occur. A commonly used printing technique is called **dodging and burning**. Dodging and burning is a technique where the light from an enlarger, which is normally applied evenly to

the photographic paper, is unevenly applied, thereby manipulating the exposure time of certain portions of the print. An area is 'dodged', making it appear to be lighter, when light is prevented from exposing a certain area of a print. Conversely, adding more light to a specific area results in the print area appearing to be darker or 'burned'. Dodging and burning can also be accomplished with concentrated developer or chemical bleaches (Lester, 1991).

Dodging and burning are techniques often used by photojournalists to highlight certain elements in the photograph, or to make the photograph more appealing. But, just as with any of the techniques in this typology, there is a continuum of appropriate use. Mild use of dodging and burning does not alter the content of the print, and may enhance clarity. However, if used to the extreme, as would be the case if a photojournalist purposefully blackened out all elements in the background of the print, the technique could be deceptive. So, while it may be used to enhance the photograph, there exists the real possibility that this technique could be used to remove vital information from the photograph, information that would eventually assist readers in understanding the context in which the photograph was taken.

Similarly, **cropping**, like excessive dodging and burning, has an appropriateness continuum. Cropping can be accomplished during shooting itself, by the choice of lens, angle, distance from image; in the darkroom by changing the height of the enlarger head; or on the finished product at the editor's desk. Cropping in itself is not necessarily manipulative or harmful. A crop may simply be used to aesthetically enhance the photo, or to innocently use or magnify a specific area of the original print. However, when cropping affects the truthfulness or accuracy of an image, it ceases to be a mere modification, and moves into the realm of possible manipulation and deception. For example, the cropped

photograph of a young boy screaming is incomplete, unless the reader has some understanding under what circumstances he is screaming. For an editor to crop a photo above a bleeding knee is inappropriate, particularly since the goal of the photojournalist is to re–present the narrativity of the event. Terence Wright lays out a basic principle: "[By] analyzing the non–focalized details of the photograph readers of the photograph invent signification. Disturb the evidence and deceive the reader" (Wright, 1989, p. 66). Therefore, much care must be taken when cropping a photograph so as to not disturb the non–focalized details that give the reader signification.

Photos accompany news stories for a variety of reasons. One historical reason for having a photograph accompany written prose is to add visual support to the story. Should an editor decide to remove from a photograph the photograph's self–warranting features – those features that give the photograph it's primary signification– in order to fit better the photo with the written story, the photo might then become an accomplice in a deception and possibly a lie. If a photograph is altered in a way to downplay its own narrative, its own story of a particular event at a particular time, and used to enhance or support a written story with which it had no relationship, then it is dishonest. Another disturbing and very similar trend by some reputable newspapers and magazines is to use old photographs, or photos from stock libraries, to accompany current stories without being identified as stock. This exercise, the purposeful separation of image and event, is problematic for those concerned with accuracy and truthfulness in the media. The de–contextualization of images is a misleading practice in general, and dangerous under certain circumstances. It is analogous to staging, which is clearly a deceptive practice.

Another simple manipulative technique–**flipping an image**– occurs when a negative is turned upside down in the enlarger carrier to produce a picture that is reversed, or "flopped". Sometimes the angle of a subject's face or hand fits a layout design more pleasingly if the angle is reversed, as if viewed in a mirror. The noticeably misleading practice is dangerous because right–handed people can be made to appear left–handed, a wedding ring traditionally on the right hand in the picture appears as if it were on the left hand. The alterations here verge on the substantial because they involve changes in physical or spatial relationships, and direction changes. That is, they involve something more than just tones, hues, and shading.

Airbrushing is a post–shutter technique used primarily to "touch up" flaws on a negative or print. Traditionally an artist using a palatte of photographic paints would cover up technical and displeasing flaws, or highlight various elements of the photo. In all cases, unless airbrushing is used in collaboration with other techniques, the spatial relationships of the photo remain unaltered. The reason airbrushing is included in this typography is that, as with most of the techniques, it can be used to manipulate, falsify, and deceive. Airbrushing is very common in advertising. Most readers are aware of the common practice of covering up a model's flaws in order to sell products. However, using airbrushing in a "news" photograph, a photograph that the public believes is accurate and truthful, is to some degree deceptive and potentially harmful. Most photo-editors frown on using the technique, other than to cover up technical and/or processing flaws (Reaves, 1991; C. Harris, 1991).

Colouring and tinting adjusts the colours, hues, and saturation levels of a photograph without disturbing the objects' relationships to one another. There are several techniques and materials through which colour and tinting can be

introduced to a photograph: filters, photographic paints, adjustments in aperture and shutter speed combinations, times and temperatures when processing film, aperture and time settings with an enlarger, and filter or paper grade selection in the darkroom. As with all the techniques, when colouring or tinting is used in moderation, there appears to be nothing substantially wrong. Excessive use, however, alters the interpretation of the photo. One of the problems with defining the appropriateness of the use of these techniques, is in determining how much is too much. Recall how members of the African–American community were offended by *Time's* excessive darkening of O.J. Simpson's cover photo (June 27, 1994). Critics argue that by artificially darkening Mr. Simpson, *Time* magazine was catering to stereotypical notions of darkness and African–Americans with the intention to make Simpson appear more saturnine, more criminal.

One of the most dramatic techniques known for manipulating photographs is **cutting and pasting** – the creating of a montage. There are several ways to isolate and resituate objects in the photograph. One way is to re–shoot the original negative using a masking device that allows the photographer to add or suppress elements on the 'copy' negative. Another involves cutting up elements of the photographic print, resituating them, and re–shooting the photograph. The third involves the use of digital imaging technology.

There have been instances where this technique has found its way into newspapers and magazines. *TV Guide* on one of its 1989 covers ran a photograph of television talk show host Oprah Winfrey with the body of screen star Ann Margaret (Chapnick, 1994, p. 297). This practice is not limited to non–news periodicals and magazines. On January 16, 1989, *Newsweek* featured a computer–joined photograph of Tom Cruise (photographed in Hawaii) and Dustin Hoffman (photographed in New York) for a story on their film *Rain Man*. The editing in

these photos led the viewer into believing that this was a factual occurrence. *Time* magazine ran in it's *Picture of the Week* cover of November 25, 1985, a photograph of Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev, which had been cut, resituated, and pasted so to make the two women appear closer, both spatially and in personal relations, than they actually were (Kobre, 1991, p. 271). We learn from a survey conducted by Sheila Reaves (1987, 1991), that magazines are more prone to use this technique than newspapers.

In the past, a montage was relatively easy to detect. Modern computer technology now makes such detection almost impossible. With conventional photographic technology, there was always an intact film negative that could be offered as evidence of an actual occurrence. Since DI technology records images as *exact* duplicates, there exists no tangible original that can be offered as evidence of origin. Once copied and altered, it is impossible to tell which image was the original. Cutting and pasting has been made fast and easy with advances in DI technology. However, regardless of whether cutting and pasting is done by traditional methods or by DI technology, the technique too easily alters the objects or the narrative structure in the photograph, and has no honest place in news reportage.

Staging, or the pre–shutter setting of a photographic scene, is an old technique that infiltrated news photography early on. Historians have found evidence of its use in photographs as far back as the 1870s. In 1975, William Frassanito painstakingly reconstructed images from the American civil war, and exposed a famous photographic lie. The photograph titled "Home of the Rebel Sharpshooter" was actually made after the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, not during it, as it was reported to have been shot (Newhall, 1964, p. 71). Frassanito concluded that the corpse in Timothy O'Sullivan's picture was the same corpse that

appeared in another photograph made in a different location on the battlefield (Frassanito, 1975, p. 187–192). Ghoulish as it sounds, O'Sullivan consciously used the corpse as a pictorial element, moving it more than forty yards to compose his image. In effect he staged or falsified the photograph's assumed representativeness.

Ken Kobre and Howard Chapnick, both authors of books on modern photojournalism, maintain that the majority of photographs taken by photojournalists involve some degree of manipulation and staging. They contend, for example, that the mere presence of a camera elicits actions that are artificial, contrived or lack spontaneity. Perhaps, then, there should be some distinctions drawn between actions and arrangements. First, arrangements consciously or unconsciously produced by the subject, (e.g., a tucked in stomach or an involuntary smile). Second, arrangements made by an agent or third party, (e.g., public relations personnel frequently set up events and assemble photographers in a manner that will result in the most flattering images of their client). Third, arrangements produced by the photographer (e.g., placing objects in subjects hands, directing a particular facial response, adding props to the background). In all of this, it is important to realize that the degree of realism or authenticity is not simply dependent upon what the camera then records, which is always a representation, but upon what viewers expect, assume, or infer. For example, a straight tree branch sticking out of the water may *appear* to be bent. A photograph of the tree branch will reinforce and support the notion that the branch is bent. A camera can only record the pre–shutter reality beyond the lens: it cannot accurately show the tree branch as the tree branch truly is, straight, not bent.

The modern practicing photojournalist often has little control over the final product: The nature of their assignment often dictates photographing pre–

arranged and pre–scheduled events. For example, politicians often hold press conferences and speak from a podium. The photographer has little choice but to shoot from a pre–determined location, often upwards, consequently making the speaker look more powerful than they may look had they been shot at eye–level. The predetermining of events has been of special interest to writers and scholars since at least the 1970s. Daniel Boorstin, in 1971, discussed the phenomenon of the *pseudo–event* in America, events purposely created by media agents to the benefit of a particular person or group. Boorstin believes that much of what we see in the news today are pseudo–events, non–spontaneous events staged for the media. The conclusion to be drawn here, then, is that wholesale artifice and dictation characterize modern photojournalism. Ken Kobre and Howard Chapnick would agree.

Some photographers take an active role in staging photographs; in essence, they intrude into the photograph. One reported case involves Norman Zeisloft, a photographer for the *St. Petersburg Times* and *Evening Independent* (Florida), who "submitted a staged photograph without informing his editor" (Patterson & Wilkins, 1991, p. 63). This photographer convinced three sports spectators to write "Yea, Eckerd" (a south Florida college) on the bottoms of their feet, so that he could take a photograph of Eckerd fans. Although this staging may seem minor, Zeisloft was fired because he failed to inform his editor of what he had done in order to get the photograph (Kobre, 1991, p. 299). There are other more serious and notable cases of faking photographs and newsreels. NBC's *Dateline* recreated a fiery truck collision on TV by rigging the truck with incendiary devices before it was rammed by another vehicle (Patterson & Wilkins, 1991, p. 64).

There is a growing trend in newspapers, news magazines, and television news towards the use of dramatized photography (i.e., photographs of actors or

computer generated figures re–enacting the artist's interpretations of a story or event). The practice is deceptive unless notification of the use of re–enactment or dramatization is given. Even then, there is the real possibility that the re–created, staged photograph (a subjective interpretation of events) could replace reality in the minds of readers. DI technology heightens concerns because it has made this practice quicker and easier –in a word, more tempting– which perhaps accounts for the increase frequency of its use. However done, dramatization is perhaps best described as a staging practice.

In all cases of faked or staged photography, it is hard to imagine that there is an appropriate use it in the news. Most scholars and critics agree that photojournalists should not intrude themselves into the event or situation. When this practice is used in photojournalism, it is heavily criticized.

> At times a fabricated photograph may reveal a human truth more clearly than a photograph composed of undisturbed elements of an event, but fabrication is not considered an ethical practice for photojournalists today. No news organization could afford to have its credibility threatened by such an act. A photographer who used a dead soldier as a visual prop, no matter how compelling the resulting picture would be fired (Boosen, 1985, p. 22).

According to industry views, staging a photograph is clearly a deceptive practice (Reaves, 1991, 1995).

Does it matter whether a photograph was staged? Does it matter who stages the photograph? From a realist or responsibilist approach, it does seem to matter whether the event was staged for the photographer or by the photographer. In one case, the photographer has little or no control over the photo; in the other case, he/she has total control. However, from a reader's standpoint, it *does not* matter whether the event was staged for the photographer, by the photographer, or at the editor's desk. Readers assume, unless otherwise

notified, that the images recorded by the photojournalist, and offered as evidence by the newspaper and magazine, are truthful and free from tampering.

Digital Imaging technology, hereafter referred to as DI technology, is raising concerns among those interested in the photo ethics debate. Digital technology is so new and different, and capable of so much, it is important that we understand the principles behind it. In *Being Digital* (1995), Nicholas Negroponte suggests the best way to appreciate the merits and consequences of 'being digital' is to reflect on the differences between bits and atoms. A term paper delivered to a professor by FedEx is essentially atoms being delivered by other atoms. That same term paper saved as a digital file and sent by e–mail to the professor's computer terminal is essentially bits transferred from one source to another. Should the professor decide to print the file, he or she is turning bits into atoms. A bit has no colour, size, or weight, and it can travel at the speed of light. It is the smallest element of information. It is a state of being: on or off, true or false, up or down, in or out, black or white. For practical purposes we consider a bit to be a 1 or a 0. The meaning of the 1 or the 0 is a separate matter. In the early days of computing, a string of bits most commonly represented numerical information (Negroponte, 1995, p. 14).

Bits have always been the underlying particle of digital computing, but over the past twenty–five years we have greatly expanded our binary vocabulary to include much more than just numbers. We have been able to digitize more and more types of information– e.g., photographs– rendering them into a similar reduction of 1s and 0s. Digitizing a signal is to take samples of it. Imagine an electronic camera as laying a fine grid over an image, and then recording the level of gray it sees in each cell. If we set the value of black to be 0 and the value of white to be 256, then any gray is somewhere between the two. Conveniently, a

string of 8 bits (called a byte) has 256 permutations of 1s and 0s, starting with 00000000 and ending with 11111111. With such fine gradations and with a fine grid, you can perfectly reconstruct the picture for the human eye. As soon as you use a coarser grid or an insufficient number of gray levels, you start to see *digital artifacts*, such as contours and blockiness (*ibid.*, 1995, p. 15).

Digital Imaging (DI) technology, for the purpose of this thesis, shall be broken down into four key stages. First, input: turning atoms into bits using a digital camera, video capture device, or scanner. Second, data transfer: the movement of bits from one point to another by means of phone lines, computer disks, CDs, etc. Third, packaging: the storage of bits in computer software or editing packages, which allow computer operators to call up digital code and make a multitude of adjustments and alterations. Fourth, output: the reconverting of bits into atoms, in the form of newspapers or 4–colour magazines.

There are three basic technologies available to photojournalists for recording objects as digital code: digital camera, video capture devices, and scanners. The digital camera uses highly photosensitive semiconductors, consisting of nearly four hundred–thousand separate photosensitive elements, which change light into electric signals that can then be converted and encoded into digital data for digital still photography. The resolution of a digital camera is usually given in pixels, which indicate the dimensions of the array of sensors or picture elements (e.g. 640 by 480 pixels). The higher the numbers, the clearer and more detailed the picture. In most other respects, digital cameras are much the same as conventional cameras. They have a lens with a variable aperature, variable–speed shutter, automatic exposure system, and either automatic or fixed focusing. When one snaps a picture, the sensors record the brightness and colour levels of each dot, and store the data in computer–like memory inside the camera

or on a memory card. One can then connect the camera to a computer with a standard serial cable and view the picture using software that comes with the camera. One can also copy pictures to the computer's hard disk in standard file formats readable by image editing programs such as Adobe System's *Photoshop* or *PhotoDeluxe.* Scanners and video capture devices convert existing image formats (prints and still video images) into digital code by sampling portions of the print or video screen.

Once the picture has been coded and that code has been entered and accepted by the computer, the operator (a photojournalist, photo-editor, or computer artist) has an array of tools available that can affect the integrity of the photograph's representativeness. Photo–editing packages allow many alterations such as the adjustment of colour levels, brightness, and contrast; the selective modification of portions of the picture; and the application of special "filters" in order to make the photo appear different, or to distort it so that it will look more like a painting, windblown, or as if it's being sucked into a whirlpool. All this is possible because each pixel can be isolated, moved, removed, coloured, flipped, condensed, and cloned.

DI technology allows for all conventional alterations and manipulations, and much more. Any object captured in digital code can be flawlessly coloured, added, removed, and cloned. Persons can be made to appear heavier or lighter, younger or older, taller or shorter, lighter or darker, with or without jewelry, etc. All adjustments can be made quickly and with relatively little training. The computer allows the photograph to be treated as a canvas; and the operator commands a palatte of tools and colours to use at his or her discretion. DI technology allows any computer operator with certain skills to call up an image on

a monitor, make changes to the photo, add text, and insert it as part of a newspaper or magazine layout.

DI technology has dramatically changed the news room. Gone are the darkrooms, large layout tables, the smell of chemicals and paste. They have been replaced by computer terminals. DI technology has many advantages. It is faster, more efficient, cleaner, and less hazardous to one's health. It also gives workers the freedom to work from home or from remote locations. The disadvantages, however, are substantial. As the new technology replaced the old technology many workers, including paste–up artists and darkroom personal, were displaced. Fewer workers are physically required to assemble the newspaper or magazine. As it turns out, fewer photographers are required on staff to supply the newspapers and magazines with photographs (Kobre, 1991, p. 262–263). The development and proliferation of photo agencies and photographic stock houses has resulted in digital technology's being capable of gathering, collecting, and sending images anywhere in the world. This raises many ethical concerns. We know that the distance is widening between the photographer and her final product – the photograph that ends up in the newspaper and magazine. Most important, at least to this thesis, is that ethical (or unethical) decisions are being made faster, with less opportunity for reflection, and by people not necessarily trained in journalism, or who have had no contact with the object or event being re–presented.

In order to clarify the language of photographic adjustments and manipulations, this chapter itemized the range of available photographic adjustments, and provided a description of its effects on the photograph. This taxonomy represents photographic techniques available to photojournalists, and helps to clarify further discussion on the ethics of *adjustment* and a *manipulation*. Indeed, it becomes a little more evident that adjustments which physically and

numerically alter the image's narrative integrity are ethically more risky than, say, certain qualitative adjustments to light, hue, and colour intensity. DI technology, we can see, has dramatically changed the news room. One of the many negative results has been the erosion of labour and the photographer's direct, personal responsibility for ensuring that a truthful re–presentation is the end product of the system. Without appropriate checks and balances, which may or may not involve the primary agent returning to ensure the credibility of the altered image, there are bound to be problems in digital re–presentation. The following chapter identifies some of these problems and practices in the photojournalism industry.

4.0 PHOTOJOURNALISM PRACTICES : THE USE OF ADJUSTMENTS, MANIPULATIONS AND DECEPTIONS

We generally accept the view that photographs and films are positive or, at worst, harmless (except in the cases of pornography, hate, and violence), and that 'pictures do not lie'. Yet, there is a growing awareness of the complexities and contradictions that confound this apparent complacency. In addition to this growing awareness is the knowledge that it is possible in the 1990s, with the advent and proliferation of computer technology, to alter photographs quickly and flawlessly, and to offer such photographs as truthful records. The irony of the situation is that, while many magazine and newspaper readers know that the technology exists to manipulate photographs, few believe that reputable newspapers and magazines engage in such practices without notification. Unfortunately, as this chapter will demonstrate with actual cases, reputable print media regularly engage in photographic alteration (Anderson, Dardenne, Killenberg, 1994). This should concern us, especially in light of the public's seemingly blind trust in news organizations to accurately re–present news.

The first part of this chapter takes a closer look at the myth of photographic transparency as it relates to photojournalism– – the assumption that photographs appearing in reputable newspapers and magazines are truthful and accurate. This assumption is now highly problematic. Many of the photographs appearing in reputable newspapers and magazines have been altered far beyond the mere representation of a three dimensional image on to a two dimensional plane. Some of the adjustments seem innocuous: they appear not to have affected the integrity of the photograph to any significant degree. Other adjustments are more injurious to the integrity of the photograph. For example, *National Geographic* (1982) digitally moved two Egyptian pyramids closer in order that the photograph could fit the vertical layout of their magazine cover. This adjustment altered the spatial

relationship of the object–elements in the photograph and thereby affected the epistemic integrity of the image. Such alteration is perceptually harmful– unless one already knew that the reality is otherwise.

Why do photojournalists alter photographs? Part of the answer can be found in how photojournalists and photo-editors have historically envisioned themselves and their roles. Subscribers to the strict realist notion of re–presentation do not believe that photographs should be altered. However, it should be noted that under this philosophy there are even some adjustments that are tolerated. It is generally accepted that a photograph can often be modestly cropped, or that correction can be made for technical errors (i.e., colour correction). Other photojournalists and photo-editors see the photograph as offering the reader more than a literal record of an event, and tolerate a wider latitude of adjustments and alterations. They see the photograph as offering the reader a "generalization", and therefore do not feel bound by the same rigid epistemic standards. They may not seem as concerned about two pyramids appearing closer together on a cover of a magazine, since the intent of the cover is to entice interest and offer an interpretation of the visual experience, not simply a record of it (Barrett, 1990 p. 27). This latitude is more in line with current prevailing newspaper and magazine trends which see the need to re–design newspapers and magazines in order to increase readership and compete with the visuals of electronic media. Photojournalists and photo-editors concerned about design see the need "to organize the minds of all journalists so that the process of news–gathering and representation is seen more artistically . . . as involving imaginative, carefully rendered design features" (Garcia, quoted by Gunaratne, 1996). This new orientation envisions newspapers and magazines not merely as records of news events, but as visually enticing "dialogues on issues of common

concern" (Gunaratne, 1996). Taking into consideration which bias a newspaper or magazine advocates and how photojournalists envision their role, may help to explain their tolerance, or lack of tolerance, in the area of photographic alteration.

This chapter addresses two themes. The first is designed to assist the reader to understand the self–designated role of the photojournalist, and includes a number of relevant issues. These issues are: (a) the suppression of authorship inherent in photography; (b) the wide variety of artistic and technical choices available to photojournalists; (c) how personal selection develops into a photojournalist's way of seeing; and, (d) the importance that presentational context plays both in determining personal selection and photographic meaning. Why are these issues relevant to the discussion on ethical issues? They are important because we have come to realize that there is much more to photojournalism than simply taking photographs of news events. The codes and conventions practiced by the photojournalist and photo-editor are only partly of their own making. Other influences are the prevailing attitudes and practices of the journalism community to which they belong. And, when we examine the attitudes and practices of fellow photojournalists and photo-editors, in the second half of this chapter, we will recognize the existence of a typology already in place – similar to that expressed in chapter three – which codifies a range of appropriate technical and artistic adjustments, as well as their suitability in various presentational contexts. We heed, that is, the industry's views towards image adjustment and manipulation as extremely important in any further discussion about DI technology and the ethics of news re–presentation.

4.1 The Myth of Transparency

Photographs tend to imply a metaphor of transparency. They suggest by their very similarity to nature that they are a window to a part of the world. This

perception of the photograph as being "painted by Nature herself" was a reoccurring theme in early photographic history. The photographer does not seem to intervene between the reader and the content. Authorship is suppressed, creating an "audience/ message" relation where the status of the photograph appears to slip into the realm of unmediated information[15]. The mechanics of photography seem to minimize any role for the photographer. As the early photographers described the process, it is light and optical mechanics, not the artist, which paint the picture. Consider Daguerre's 1839 public statement that, with his photographic process, "[a]nyone can take the most detailed views in a few minutes," by " a chemical and physical process which gives nature the ability to reproduce herself" (quoted in Newhall, 1964, p. 17). This places the photographer in a role different from that of other communicators.

It would be misleading to suggest that photographers have resisted the impersonal quality of photographs (Marzio, 1979). The seeming ability of the photograph to speak for itself is a powerful recommendation for the use of photography for reportage. Impersonality was prized in such areas as criminal justice, scientific research, and news gathering. The photographer, in all these areas, is invisible. There is no seemingly inteference between the information and the user. But the photographer is there, even if viewers are not aware, or do not notice it.

The way the photographer can be made visible is by considering the range of choices available to them. The technical and artistic choices are numerous (as

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15 According to David Sless (1981), the smallest indivisible unit of study in the communication process is either the "audience/message" relation or the "author/message" relation. Sless thinks it impossible to reduce these relations to their component parts, investigate those parts as if they had a separate existence, and then to reconstitute the components into the process of communication.

itemized in chapter three). Even if they were locked in a room, the choices of angles, composition, and content would still have to be made. But photographers do not simply point their camera at everything: they *select*. And while we may be seduced by the impression of an open window, we should never forget that, out of an open–ended universe of possible windows, only one has been opened for the reader. In other words, there is a conscious, purposeful, controlling agent behind every photograph (Tagg, 1988; Goldberg, 1991).

4.2 *Photographer's Choices Are Not Neutral*

As an indication of the importance of societal pressures in determining photographic preferences, photographers made choices which pushed the technical limitations of their equipment, instead of working comfortably within these limitations. Right from the start, there was more to the activity than simply pointing a camera at a desired subject. Even if photography was new, the art of picture–making was not (Sless, 1981). The inappropriateness of applying the conventions of painting to photography soon became apparent. If painters overlook something because their schematic does not initiate a search for it, it does not appear on the canvas. Consequently, optical realism for the painter is largely a matter of individual choice. If photographers do not notice something as they click the shutter, the ever faithful optics of the camera always will. Even at the time of the invention of photography, Fox–Talbot noted the new medium had this alarming characteristic. According to Fox–Talbot (1844):

> . . . the operator himself discovers on examination, perhaps long afterwards, that he had depicted many things he had no notion of at the time. Sometimes inscriptions and dates are found upon the buildings, or printed placards more irrelevant, are discovered upon their walls (as quoted in Wright, 1982, p. 66).

This leads to an epistemological crisis. Like Muybridge's photographs of the running horse, we too have faced similar dilemmas, when pictures sent out to be

developed come back with evidence that contradicts our memory and expectation of what should have been there. There are many other problems raised by the obvious difference between the way we look at the world and what the photograph records. Often, what is not visible to us in the world cannot be avoided in the photograph. Looking at objects in pictures is different from our eye looking at objects in the world. Optics may dictate that the information is the same, but perception prescribes that the experience is different (Zimbardo & Lieppe, 1991). The photographer faces this problem constantly; and the remarkable fact, which has gone unnoticed by those outside the profession, is that they develop a "way of seeing" which is quite different from ordinary perception, one which enables them to judge what they see through the view finder in terms of the eventual print. Looking through the view finder they engage in what many accomplished photojournalists describe as an *act of transformation*. The photojournalist's eye turns into a kind of instrument of judgment. "Photographic seeing" is a kind of enhanced perception unknown before the invention of the camera.

> Photographic seeing is not a limited or finite skill; the features which are important to one photographer may not be so for the other. It is a multi–faceted skill which has been developed to serve a wide range of purposes.
>
> Up to and including the instant of exposure, the photographer is working in an undeniably subjective way. By his choice of technical approach (which is a tool of emotional control), by his selection of the subject matter to be held within the confines of his negative area, and by his decision as to the exact, climactic instant of exposure, he is blending the variables of interpretation into *an emotional whole* which will be the basis for the formation of opinion by the viewing public.
>
> It is the responsibility of the photographer–journalist to take his assignment and examine it— to search with intelligence for the frequently *intangible truth*; and then carefully (and sometimes very

> rapidly) work to bring his insight, as well as the physical characteristics of the subject, to his finished pictures (*italics added, as quoted in* Sless, 1981, pp. 4 –5)

This account by W. Eugene Smith (1948) reveals some interesting phenomenological aspects of the "author/message" relation. The moment of exposure could not be more specific or more particular. It is the particular object captured on film at a specific point in time; and yet the photographer sees it as standing for "an emotional whole", and as revealing an "intangible truth." The photograph for all its particularity is regarded by the photographer as offering the reader a generalization. He invests it, not with the obvious *literal* meaning, but also with a *figurative* meaning (Sless, 1981). Other concerned photographers and photojournalists agree that their photographs can fulfill that kind of broader purpose. It is clear from this example, and others such as Dorothea Lange, Robert Capa, and Philippe Halsmanhe, that they believe that the photograph's purpose is unashamedly rhetorical in its ability to supply a narrative of broad interest and resonance.

"Truth" for the photojournalist, then, is not necessarily a perfect re–presentation of a particular reality. Rather, "truth" entails somehow taking the viewer beyond the particular to the general, whole, or universal. Photojournalists believe that their audience forms its opinions by viewing the photograph the way the photographer has intended it to be interpreted: as standing for something more than obvious re–presentation. Their photograph, in some way, is designed to capture an event, tell a story, and enable the viewer to move beyond the point of exposure to a broader understanding.

Clearly, photographic meaning can extend beyond the act of recording the visible objects in the world. Not all photographers are as articulate or decisive as the photojournalists highlighted throughout this thesis. What is clear is that a

range of possibilities for decision–making is part of every photographic act. The product of the act – the photograph – is not just a window. Photojournalists, by framing an aspect of the visible world, categorize it. The "stand for" relation, which the photographer generates, always has a certain figurative quality (Sless, 1981). Even if the stated purpose of the photograph is literal– for example, taking a photograph of a house– there is such a wide range of choices that some external criteria must guide the choice. Should it be photographed from the front, side, or back? From eye level, aerial, or from the inside? A common strategy is to photograph the front because it is the common architectural convention to define the quality and kind of house. The "front" in photographic terms stands for the whole of the house. Just as the front of a house stands for the whole of the house, a photojournalist's photograph can stand for the whole of an event. For example, the cover photograph of *Time* magazine (April 23, 1995) featured a firefighter holding the lifeless body of a young bombing victim in Oklahoma City. Shot by an amateur photographer, the picture suggests and therefore re–presents more than the corpse of an individual child. As discussed in television interviews with *Time* representatives, the intention of the cover picture was to convey the horror of the whole event. Of course, individual readers' interpretations may vary.

We can not expect photographers to stand by their photographs and explain them to us. The photo leaves its influence and moves into an intermediate domain where it is subject to editorial decisions. In this way, it is again transformed. Thus the meaning in the "author/message" relation cannot be assumed to find its way unaltered into the "audience/message" relation (Sless, 1981). The publishing context of the photograph requires a new analysis of meaning. Books, magazines, newspapers, billboards, museums galleries, and

photo albums are all possible context for photographs. Context, that is, always needs to be taken into account.

4.3 The Importance of Presentational Context

A photograph, particularly one appearing in a news magazine or reputable newspaper, is interpreted as a statement of fact by virtue of it being in a certain kind of *presentational context*. Edwin Martin of Indiana University argues that:

> [c]ontext functions much the way situations do when they infuse pieces of language with meaning. What is said and who is misled often depend on context. . . a photograph's meaning may vary with context . . . One ingredient of this context, specifically, is the vehicle of presentation (Martin, 1987, p. 50).

In essence, Martin means that one might interpret a photograph differently, say, if it were presented in a family album, a reputable newspaper, or an advertisement.

Like the style of the artist, something of the presentational context is clear in the photograph. Consider three contextual settings of a family photograph: a family album, a newspaper, and an advertisement. Each of these three different settings confers a particular epistemological status and information value. The snapshot, which is most likely to appear in the family album, re–presents a moment in the personal history of that family. The newspaper photograph also re–presents a moment, but it is a public moment, the family is observed by the outsider. The advertisement is also public, but in a different sense. The family is simulated, idealized, flattered, but we accept this as part of the rhetorical role of advertising. In each case, a different epistemological status is attached to the photo: personal knowledge in the first; public detached knowledge in the second; and perhaps credibility or plausible fiction in the third (Sless, 1981). There is no single standard of truth against which to judge all meanings, but rather the

standards of credibility, plausibility, and trust in agents or organizations that set forth to expose truthful content. If the people and situations depicted in the advertisement seem unreal, we can reject them. There is not the same kind or degree of obligation as there is with the snapshot, or the press photograph, to attempt to match one's world view with the world view of the photograph.

The proliferation of DI technology is now *blurring* the distinction between the "news" photograph (a photograph seen as an authentic, accurate, and fair re–presentation of an object or event) and the advertising or "illustrative" photograph (a photograph which is seen as contrived, posed, and unnatural). This troubles many people including ethicist Don Tomlinson who forecasts that:

> If . . . consumers of photojournalism decide to revoke the credibility they have bestowed on photojournalism for the past century, it will be because the processes of photojournalism were at some point so revolutionized that photographic reality no longer could be a trusted result (Tomlinson, 1992, p. 52).

We know that there is a growing trend in the newspaper industry to *visually enhance* the look of the paper in order to attract and maintain readership.

> Ever since *USA Today* made its mark in 1982 with its contemporary design incorporating color and graphics, other dailies have followed suit both within and outside the United States testing the readers with their so–called WEDiting— the integration of writing, editing and design–technique (Gunaratne, 1996).

DI technology and its potential for abuse increase the likelihood that such *blurring* will occur more frequently in a news environment concerned more about colour relationships than with the truth–role of photographs. And that could be disastrous, especially for those concerned with ensuring the credibility of news photography.

Hence, the views of industry leaders, with regard to photo– imaging technology and its acceptable application, offer an opportunity to gauge the

prevailing attitudes and trends in various presentational contexts. It also allows a closer examination of the organizational culture within which a particular technology, in this case DI technology, is put into practice.

There is a good deal of evidence that there is already wide acceptance of many photographic adjustments including: exposure adjustments, POV, lens choice, use of corrective filters, some degree of cropping into the image, dodging and lightening portions of the print, and burning in and darkening portions of a print (Reaves, 1987; 1991; 1993; Schwartz, 1992; Martin, 1991; C. Harris, 1991). These adjustments have been practiced for decades, well before the emergence of Digital Imaging (DI) technology, without a great deal of criticism. Other adjustments such as flipping an image, airbrushing, excessive use of colouring, cutting and pasting, and pre–photographic staging, are less acceptable and sometimes considered taboo (Reaves, 1991, 1993; Martin, 1991). DI technology, as discussed in the last chapter, is not a new alteration per se, but a culmination of all available past alterations, with the added advantages of ease of use, virtual perfection, and undetectability in the end result. DI technology offers news organizations an instrument that performs many of the traditional alterations more quickly, at less cost, and with greater ease. It also extends their ability to flawlessly produce major reconstructions (e.g., the cutting and pasting of objects in original print) and compositions (e.g., creating a photograph with objects or elements not contained in the original photograph). It is the potential DI technology offers to alter flawlessly that has led to the increased concern of its use.

There is <u>not</u> enough empirical study and data to suggest with certainty that DI technology has dramatically increased the frequency of image adjustments. It is the contention of this thesis, based on the growth of concern, that the widespread proliferation of DI technology will have an impact on the nature and frequency of

its usage. This suspicion is supported by many communication and media scholars, and can be illustrated by an increased number of articles and books expressing concern about the dangers DI technology poses. All of this, in turn, needs to be situated in the light of the dramatic changes in the way news organizations are owned, managed, and operated, as well as in light of the escalating competitive pressures photojournalists, journalists, and editors find themselves working under. It is also reflected in the words of those who use the technology, including Diana La Guardia, former art director at the *New York Times Magazine,* who wrote "I find myself doing things that I never thought I would do" (Reaves, 1991, p. 179). Or consider Bob Furstenau who admitted that, while he was art director at *Better Homes and Gardens* from 1984 to 1988, he had digitally manipulated 45 of the 48 covers he worked on. In his own words, "I don't consider a photograph to be a photograph anymore. It's something to work with" (*ibid.*).

4.4 The Attitudes, Opinions, and Practices of Industry Leaders

While the print industry pays lip service to the principles set out by various professional associations, namely that news organizations *should not* alter photographs, the fact remains that many newspaper and magazine photo-editors still do. The following pages will examine the industry leaders' attitudes, opinions, and practices, as they pertain to the appropriate use of DI technology and questionable photographic alterations. We will also examine and compare the positions of magazines and newspapers editors, to determine whether there are different ethical standards being practiced between the two media. And finally, this section will look at the *predictors* of whether or not a photo-editor would, or would not, choose to use a particular technique or alteration. These *predictors* include such features as whether photo-editors had a photojournalism background; whether or not they participated in photographic seminars; and the

type of publication they work on. Knowing what generic features influence decision–making patterns helps to bridge the discussion about photographic alteration and its possible use in a newspaper or magazine context.

As stated before, a cluster of minor and inoffensive photographic adjustments have been practiced for decades without a great deal of criticism. In the majority of cases in which these minor techniques are used the central subject or narrative of the photograph had not been compromised. What we call its 'narrative integrity' is preserved. Even **cropping**, which comes closest to interfering with the natural composition of the photograph, often excludes only objects in the background; and that is something which may have occurred on site depending on the lens of the camera. It becomes an issue of unethical consequence when there is a *specific intent* to remove something, or someone, that is *intrinsic to understanding* the circumstances under which the photograph had been taken. Such an action alters the narrative structure and, therefore, would be considered deceptive. DI technology raises the stakes. We are no longer just concerned with information–rich background or context being removed from a photograph. We are now worried that such background context could be replaced at whim. DI technology allows the photographic artist to *invent signification* by adding or "fixing" a background. This practice creates a moral dilemma. It lies *after* the fact. Variations on this practice were available before DI technology, but were expensive, time consuming, and nearly always detectable. Although there is little evidence that such a practice has been used in news re–presentation, it is possible with the new technology to do this operation quickly and without detection; in effect, to lie well. If news photographers have been willing in the past to take an object and re–position it *prior* to taking a photograph, it seems reasonable to assume that the very same act – removing the object from its original

environment and substituting a new background– is bound to happen, *after* the fact, using DI technology.

Consider the survey evidence: According to Sheila Reaves (1995), 63% of magazine editors and 25% of newspaper editors reported they had removed backgrounds from photographs. Removing backgrounds was the most common picture–editing technique according to the survey (Reaves, 1995b). Editors of *Time* (1984) removed a radio aerial which appeared to protrude from Olympic athlete Mary Decker's head because they thought is was distracting. The *St. Louis Post–Dispatcher* ran the photograph of a fireman and his family the day after he had rescued a child from a fire, which featured them sitting on a sofa in their home. The newspaper editors chose to digitally remove a Diet Coke can from the table in the foreground. The computer filled in the empty space with elements duplicated from the same photograph's background (Goldberg, 1991, p. 99, 101).

While the act of removing an ill–placed antenna or a distracting coke can from a picture may at first appear to be no real concern, we cannot ignore the far–reaching ramifications of such a decision. Consider John Filo's Pulitzer Prize photo showing Mary Ann Vecchio screaming as she kneels over the body of student Jeffery Miller at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. The original photo shows a fence post appearing behind Vecchio's head; the photo appearing in *Life Magazine*, May of 1995, does not. David Friend, Director of Photography for *Life Magazine* responding on–line to reports of this discrepancy, states:

> I want to respond directly, clearly and put the matter to rest. *LIFE* did not and does not manipulate news photos. The photo we published was supplied to us by our photo library — the *Time–Life Picture Collection*, the second largest such repository of catalogued images. Amazingly, the fence post had been airbrushed out by someone, now anonymous, in a darkroom sometime in the early 1970s. The picture had run numerous times— without the fence

> post, and without anyone taking notice (Friend, 1996, Chris MacDonald's Web Site).

Friend is correct. More than once the same doctored photograph was ran by a reputable magazine; *Time* (Nov. 6, 1972, p. 23), *People* (May 2, 1977, p. 37), *Time* (Jan. 7, 1980, p. 45), and *People* (April 30, 1990, p. 117). Friend also reports that attempts were made to contact John Filo in order to secure an original reproduction quality print. Multiple reprinting, without anyone noticing the discrepancies, illustrates how a falsification can petrify into an accepted 'truth'.

Some may argue that reproducing an altered image was trivial, since the retouched photo does not detract from the central figures or narrative, but adds to them by removing minor distractions in the background. According to this point of view, this does not discredit the photographer nor the publisher. A photograph should illuminate or reveal certain characteristics or traits, and should enable the audience to relate to the key themes and elements. Part of this process has to be the removal of that which is irrelevant. But consider the counter argument for epistemic purity: By removing the pole, you remove the fence; and by removing the fence you remove the reality of Kent State University's control of public spaces and students access to them in 1970. The whole question of the poles relates to this control of public spaces. Some would argue that the lifting of that pole is erasing this fact. By erasing the pole from the picture, elements of an important moment in American history is being whitewashed and smoothed over. Understanding some of the long–term ramifications of removing seemingly innocuous or distracting objects from a photograph is more problematic than it would initially appear.

Most editors and photographers agree never to **flip** a photograph, which switches the left–side to the right–side (Reaves, 1990). But **dropping out** and **eliminating backgrounds** has its supporters and critics. Once again, it is when

vital information is removed from the picture– information that might add to the reader's understanding of the circumstances under which it was shot– that the use of these techniques become objectionable. **Airbrushing**, a process by which objects can be removed or added, is an old and controversial practice. Ninety–four percent of newspaper editors replied "no" to using airbrushing to remove distracting information. Magazine editors were split: 46% said "yes" they would, while 54% said "no" they would not (Reaves, 1995b).

Today, with the advent of modern DI technology, removing objects from the background either by airbrushing or similar computer operations, is being performed with increased frequency (C. Harris, 1991). Most people would be untroubled with the technique if it were strictly used to remove unwanted, accidental technical flaws, such as scratches on film resulting from mechanical or technical failure. We are less comfortable and more uneasy as technology is used for broader artistic or propagandistic purposes.

It is easy to justify the use of airbrushing or similar DI techniques. In *Life's* 1959 book, *The Second World War*, editors decided to airbrush out maggots that appeared on the soaked dead bodies of soldiers lying on beaches (Goldberg, 1991 p. 199). They believed the *treated* photograph was graphic enough, and that the sight of maggots on young dead soldiers' bodies would create additional pain for the families. The brute fact is, recorded objects were altered for the sake of appearances.

Bob Furstenau, art director of *Better Homes and Gardens*, justifies his altering of photo–covers with the claim that, "[a]nything that interferes with the ultimate aesthetic of a picture–spots, telephone wires, people, whatever. That's sort of an automatic (to remove)" (Reaves, 1988, p. 178). The interesting part of Furstenau's statement is his slippage into total indeterminacy, into "whatever".

Surely there must be some point, some object, that should not be removed for aesthetic purposes. Rick Boeth (1990), Associate Picture Editor of *Time* Magazine, gave an example in which an historic meeting in Red Square between then U.S. President Ronald Reagan and former Premier Mikhail Gorbachev was structurally manipulated at the "whim" (his term) of an editor. Apparently, a crowd had gathered around the two leaders and microphone booms were coming in from the side. The boom microphone cast a shadow on a bald man's head in the crowd making it appear as though he too, had Gorbachev's distinctive birthmark. The editors thought the shadow might be confusing so they removed it using electronic means. Boeth related the ethical stance taken by the editor who ordered the change and the problems with that reasoning:

> Basically the rationale for this was, "we haven't changed the guy's normal appearance. He doesn't always walk around with a shadow on his head all the time; this was just an accident of sunlight and angle and microphones. By changing it you didn't change anything of importance about the content of the photograph.
>
> I think we went too far in that case. The guy was bald, but he had a beard. The guy wasn't a real ringer for Gorbachev. It was sort of an easy thing, where someone said, "gosh, this is a little distracting, can we fix it? (quoted in C. Harris, 1991, p. 166)

Do we remove a distracting antenna, pop can, or shadow, needlessly, just because we can? For instance, with DI technology we *can* also remove a racist button from the lapel of a public figure, or anti–Semitic book titles from the background library shelves of a federal official. But should we? Can we really be sure that such erasures, in such a news context, would be innocuous and trivial?

We should be concerned when we hear that digital imaging technologies are used by publicity and public relations firms to create media packages to be distributed to media outlets. Fred Ritchen (1990) argued that:

> With the advent of electronic technology, photography has the capability of becoming a vanity medium, providing us with a

> precisely controlled view packaged as perception. Those in power can take advantage of its enhanced capability to deceive and more expertly project their own world view, camouflaging it as reporting (Ritchen, 1990, p. 143).

This very concept of pre–packaging news events concerned Daniel Boorstin. Well before the spread of DI technology, he warned readers of the predominant trend in the media towards "pseudo–events", events designed to give the impression of newsworthiness but were in reality contived for the media and public consumption for the benefit of a particular person or interest group. In his book, *The Image* (1971), Boorstin noted a change in our attitude towards news, and argued that it was, in turn, a symptom of a revolutionary change in our attitude toward what happens in the world. Boorstin writes, *truth* has been displaced by *believability* as the test of the statements which dominate our lives. . . almost anything can be made to seem true – especially if we wish to believe it" (Boorstin, 1971, p. 226). Neil Postman, in his book, *Amusing Ourselves to Death* (1985), expanded on Boorstin's concerns by pointing out that "the photograph and telegraph [were] the advance guard of a new epistemology that would put an end to the Empire of Reason" (p. 48). Postman argued that the photograph and telegraph gave a form of legitimacy to the idea of context–free information since information became a commodity, a "thing" that could be bought and sold irrespective of its uses or meaning (*ibid.*,p. 65). Boorstin and Postman may have been right since, as this commodity is separated from its original context, modification, changes, and alterations which no longer bear true witness would become more acceptable and commonplace.

Another practice simplified and perfected with DI technology is creating a montage by **cutting and pasting**.

> The old method of cutting and pasting images, which often produced contrived–looking composites, has given way to the computer which

> can move, alter, delete, and add virtually anything the operator wants and be virtually undetectable (Parker, 1988, p. 47)

Most editors view the use of this technique as inappropriate (Reaves, 1990). In Reaves's 1995 survey, 95% of newspaper editors said "no" to combining elements from two or more photographs. In contrast, 29% of magazine editors reported that their publications currently combine photos. There does appear to be a shift towards greater tolerance in cutting and pasting over the past ten years.

Even without a rigorous study of actual photo–combination practices, there are already ample cases of combined photographs. On January 16, 1989, *Newsweek* featured a computer joined photograph of Tom Cruise– photographed in Hawaii– and Dustin Hoffman– photographed in New York– for a story on their film "Rain Man". The editing of these photos was done to allow the viewer to believe that this is a factual occurrence. *New York Newsday* (Feb. 16, 1994), too, is guilty of cutting and resituating Olympian skaters Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding so to make them appear together before either had set foot on the ice of Lillehammer (Wheeler, Gleason, 1995). In both these cases, no notification was given indicating that DI technology had been used to alter original photographs. The photographs were clearly misleading and inappropriate for pretending to record actual events. This act is analogous to an editor making up a quote. A good print journalist would not cite a quote from two individuals as being from one source; and so it should be with photographs (Goldberg, 1991).

Some argue that when readers are aware of the technique, then it can be used for fun and amusement. Awareness comes from specific written qualifiers accompanying the photograph, or when the montage is so self–evident that is does not warrant a disclaimer caption (Wheeler & Gleason, 1995). *Time* magazine had thought that its May 20, 1991 cover, a digitally manipulated photograph that placed the heads of vice–presidential candidates on the body of Dan Quayle,

would be a successful cover illustration. Editors were sure that everyone would realize that a manipulative technique had been employed. However, judging from readers responses and subsequent letters, it seems that some of them were confused (Goldberg, 1991). In any case, one can take the reasonable position that composite or montage photography is unacceptable in news coverage unless a written disclaimer accompanies the photograph. Indeed, it is alarming that, according to Sheila Reaves's survey, montage photography is considered appropriate for use by 5% of newspaper editors and 29% of magazine editors (Reaves, 1995b).

In brief, the problem is not simply the technology that permits composite photography, but also that the industry is now exercising the choice to use it without informing us when it is being used. When it is done flawlessly and without public notification, it is clearly deceptive. Interestingly, the dropping of backgrounds, airbrushing, and cutting and pasting are normally limited to what editors consider "obvious illustrations" or non–journalistic photos (Reaves, 1988, p. 42). This, of course, is not to say that such techniques have not been used in news stories. "The fake disrupts two dearly held expectations: that photographs report what was actually there, and that seeing is believing – for photography amounts to a surrogate for personal observation" (Goldberg, 1991, p. 89).

4.5 Predictors of Tolerance towards Photographic Alterations

What factors influence photo-editors' attitudes towards the use photographic alterations and DI technology? According to Sheila Reaves (1995), there are three variables known to influence decision–maker's attitudes towards photographic alterations: (1) professional backgrounds, (2) participation in professional development activities such as photography seminars and conventions, and (3) publication type.

Analysis conducted by Reaves, reveals significant differences in professional backgrounds between photographic decision–makers at magazines and those at newspapers.

> Professional experience in photography is a hallmark of visual editors at newspapers, with 85% answering "yes" to the question "Have you ever been a working photojournalist?". In contrast, only 22% of visual magazine editors reported a background in photojournalism (Reaves, 1995b, p. 6).

Professional experience (or expertise) in photojournalism may suggest that newspaper editors would be more in touch with the realities, standards, and challenges facing the practicing photojournalist. However, practical experience in photojournalism is only one way to gain understanding of photographic issues. Another avenue open to photo-editors is attendance at photo–oriented seminars and membership in professional associations.

When photo-editors were asked "How many photography (or picture editing) seminars or conventions you attended in the past two year?" (p.7) the answers were somewhat surprising. While 53% of newspaper editors had attended two or more photographic seminars, only 23% of magazine editors made the same claim. Over 60% of magazine editors and 23% of newspaper editors had not attended a seminar or convention. Given that newspaper editors showed a stronger background in photojournalism and a higher level of attendance at relevant seminars, it seems they were more likely to be in touch with ethical standards of photojournalism and perhaps less tolerant toward the manipulation of photographs.

The single strongest predictor of an editor's tolerance for digital manipulation, according to the survey, was the publication type.

> Examination of the variables through multiple regression analysis indicated that "publication type" was the single strongest predictor

> of an editor's tolerance, accounting for 34% of the variance. In addition, attendance at photographic seminars accounted for an additional five percent of the variance explained by the three variables (Reaves, 1995, p. 6)

Continuing education –through photo–oriented seminars and membership in professional associations– on the issues and standards in photography, can more strongly affect editors' views about digital manipulation. The challenge, it would seems, is to engage editors and photojournalists to participate in such events.

Based on the number of known cases of photographic manipulation and Reaves' findings, we know that magazine editors are significantly more tolerant of digital manipulation since they report using more "illustration" techniques such as airbrushing, dropping out backgrounds, and combining photographs. However, the discrepancy in responses to questions regarding the appropriate use of DI technology between newspaper and magazine photo-editors, is narrowing. This is due in part to a trend appearing in both newspapers and news magazines to "jazz up" the presentation of the news in order to increase circulation. Neil Postman (1985) cautions readers that presenting the news in a such a trivializing manner is a response to the resonance of television's epistemology. Printed news genre is quickly "morphing" into an illustrative tabloid, a close cousin of television news. According to Postman and other researchers, we will likely see traditional newspapers looking more and more like news magazines, using illustrative devices and headline news photography on a scale we have not seen before. In such a scenario, the expected truthfulness of the photographic profession becomes tenuous.

What has emerged thus far in this thesis is the realization that a taxonomy of photographic adjustments and manipulations, while helpful for developing a common language and a better understanding of the practice, is not enough to reach an understanding of the ethics of photographic manipulation. The actual

uses and practices by photojournalism industries are also crucial for reaching an understanding of the problems and criteria associated with the use and misuse of this practice in news production. Photojournalists and photo-editors have a public and historically grounded covenant with their readers: Readers generally expect that photographers will provide just and accurate re–presentations of the realities they are sent to cover. The photojournalist's photograph differs from other categories of photographs because it is now an integral element of information gathering and news coverage. Socially, politically, and culturally, news photography is a consequential medium. While historically photography has had a legacy of truthful re–presentation, it is now possible, through DI technology, for there to be a much greater and potentially disastrous threat to the tradition of the public trust. If current trends prevail, a photojournalist's photograph may become *just an image*, a commodity to be manipulated, bought, and sold without attention to its epistemic credentials. The legacy of photojournalism is at stake unless we can increase our understanding of its ethical complexity and the full ethical impact of altering technology.

5.0 *THE ETHICS OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ADJUSTMENTS: AN INTEGRATED SCHEMATISM OF DETERMINANTS*

This thesis began with the premise that photojournalists and photo-editors have a public trust, a historical covenant, as it were, with their readers. Readers generally expect that photojournalists will provide truthful and accurate re–presentations of the realities they are sent to cover, whether it is achieved by mechanical and chemical processes, or by digital (computer) technologies. The reason for heightened concern with the latter at this point in history has to do with the proliferation and affordability of DI technology, and the recognition that the photojournalist's photograph differs from other types of photographs. A photojournalist's photograph is now a vital element of information–gathering and news–coverage and, therefore, it is a socially, politically, and culturally consequential medium. It is also an inference–nudging medium that must be monitored for possible abuses and misuses. While photography has enjoyed a reputation for truthful re–presentation, there has always been a potential threat – and enough actual breaches– to the observance and tradition of the public trust, particularly with the advent of newer technologies.

Scholars and writers have raised concern for the future credibility of the photojournalist's photograph, but few, if any, have ventured a comprehensive and integrated review of the situation. This thesis offers a more integrated approach to photojournalism ethics– –an approach that extends beyond the typical technology and technique–based discussions. This approach takes into consideration: (1) the internal elements of the photograph affected by photographic technology, (2) the external or *para–image factors* that affect decisions to alter photographs, and (3) the role and responsibility of the photojournalistic agent – the photojournalist and photo-editor. After examining what has been written and said on the topic, it becomes clear that what is needed is a more structured and grounded analytical

approach to the subject of image alterations and its appropriate use in photojournalism. A beginning might be: The photojournalist's photograph should be, *a just image*, not *just an image*. A culminating vision might be that, as members of a honourable profession, the photojournalist must accept this responsibility as well as the *burden of representation* (Tagg, 1988).

When this ethical reflection began in earnest, little had been written – at least not before the late 1980s – on the subject of the ethics of photographic alteration in photojournalism. This, then, represents an early scholarly attempt (perhaps the first) to sort through, and to systematize, the body of reflections related to image–ethics and, consequently, to offer a more integrated and systematized response to the moral perplexity surrounding photographic alteration in journalism. Because it is a first, there is likely to be some uncertainties or points of contention. In response, scholars and critics should be mindful of what Lorraine Code writes about an analogous scholarly inquiry:

> [T]here very probably cannot be a perfect, ideal theory of knowledge that ties things together in a tidy way. To deny this possibility is not, however, to affirm that we must remain forever mystified. The route I propose is indirect and tentative, but is redeemed by its fertility and its capacity to remain in touch with the need to account for what happens when real human beings try to make sense of their experience. The approach is not invalidated by the fact that, ex hypothesi, there is no neutral standpoint from which the enquiry can be conducted, for a theorist's efforts to understand are part of the same knowing process that is often separated out as the object of special scrutiny (Code, 1987, p. 12).

Chapter One of this thesis traced the history of photographic technology back to its invention. In the process, a number of *motifs* began to emerge as they dominated ethical discussions. The *primary theme* of Chapter One is the extent to which the public has been disposed to believe that photographs truthfully and accurately re–present reality. This ideological view of the photograph as a direct

and natural cast of reality was present from the very inception of photography, and still continues, although somewhat blemished, to this day. Early inventors, authors, and commentators often likened the photographic image to nature's ability to imitate or duplicate itself. This recurrent motif– that in the photograph nature reproduces or repeats itself– reduces the distance between copy and reality, and enhances the "objectivity" of the icon. Indeed, this theme – near identity or verisimilitude – is the most striking and enduring constant in the history of photography. Despite the growing awareness of the practice of photographic abuses, the widespread belief that photography is endowed with a special claim to the truth has prevailed. For instance, the adage "photographs don't lie" remained a truism well into the twentieth century.

In the 1970s some scholars and critics raised doubts about photojournalism's adherence to truth, particularly in light of emerging technical developments. The two more important developments, according to Vicki Goldberg (1991), were the still video camera –which codes images in electromagnetic signals on disk, and the Scitex machine– a computer–imaging system. Both devices can be considered precursors to Digital Imaging technology. DI technology, a generic name for a number of related image–based technologies, represented a quantum leap in photographic technology. Prior to its invention, most photographic alterations and manipulations, with the possible exception of pre–shutter arrangements, were detectable. The emergence of DI technology, with its ability to make undetectable alterations quickly, affordably, and with great ease, forced scholars to focus more closely on the ethics of photographic alteration.

Lorraine Code reminds researchers that "[o]ne of the most significant aspects of being a member of a community of knowledge is that one can, as a matter of course, draw upon a reservoir of largely unarticulated assumptions about

people's knowledge" (Code, 1987, p. 172). Chapter Two, a review of the growing awareness of ethical issues in photojournalism, was designed to tell us something about the assumptions and beliefs in the photojournalistic community.

Chapter Two reveals two things. First and most important, it systematizes and highlights what has been said and written by the industry and its critics regarding photojournalism ethics. Newspaper and magazine editors and photographers have traditionally operated under certain inherited principles about what are appropriate photographic alterations and what are not. Sheila Reaves's 1993 and 1995 surveys indicate that there is a great deal of consensus among editors and photographers regarding the appropriate use of specific photographic alterations. However, very few writers have made the effort to document past or current principles or guidelines. These seemingly agreed–upon ethical principles operate mostly as informal guidelines, since they are not laid out in a guide or rule book. Thus, it was a necessary exercise for anyone intending to discuss image–ethics in a meaningful way to document the industry's current incipient guidelines with regard to photographic alterations.

Second, the literature review establishes 'truth' and 'truthfulness' as premier ethical values in photojournalism. Other recurring and ethically–charged concepts found throughout the review were 'duty', 'accuracy', 'responsibility', 'believability, 'veracity', 'honesty', and 'trustworthiness'. These concepts invariably point to a family of requisite photojournalistic qualities such as: 'honesty', 'accuracy', 'objectivity', 'likeness', 'similitude', 'validity', 'consistency', 'authenticity' and 'realism'. Conversely, photojournalistic 'falsity' is usually describable in another family of related terms: 'deception', 'distortion', 'lies', 'dishonesty', 'exaggeration', 'deception', 'embellishment', etc.. The reasoning, in virtually all cases, rests upon the conventional correspondence theory of truth, this being the one implied in

different discussions of photographic integrity. Acknowledging these families of epistemic predicates allows us more nuance and flexibility in our discussions of representiveness. The ethical primacy of these qualities becomes progressively transparent.

Chapter Three studied the current ethical values associated with the application of particular photographic techniques (see Chart 1.1). A review of contemporary literature on photographic alterations in photojournalism reveals a typology of appropriate uses. This typology is a result of what photojournalists and photo-editors have themselves intimated in their writings, practices, and responses to interviews and questions. Consequently, Chapter Three contributes to the investigation three ways. First, it itemizes and classifies the current kinds of adjustments and manipulations available to photographers. Second, it helps us to see that there is considerable agreement about which levels of alteration are acceptable and which ones are not. Third, and most important, it demonstrates that the present ad hoc approach to understanding photographic alterations in photojournalism is insufficient. So, while helpful for developing a common language and a better understanding of the practice, the typology by itself is still not enough to supply an adequate understanding of the ethical determinants involved in actual photographic manipulation. We need to extend the analysis of image–ethics beyond its present fragmentary status in order to secure, if possible, a more unified and systemic response to modern photographic alteration and its uses.

Chapter Four took a closer look at the myths of photographic transparency, as they relate to photojournalism and the individual photojournalist, by recognizing that a photograph is more than what is recorded on a film negative or a computer disk. The first part of Chapter Four assists readers to understand

better the self–designated role of the photojournalist. It also includes a number of relevant issues such as: the suppression of authorship inherent in photography; the wide variety of artistic and technical choices available to photojournalists; how the practice of personal selection develops into a photojournalist's 'way of seeing'; and, finally, the importance presentational context plays both in determining personal selection and in asserting photographic meaning. Simply put, there is much more to photojournalism than taking photographs of news events. The codes, conventions, and ultimately the ethicality of the decisions made by individual photojournalists and photo-editors, are only partly of their own making. The other determining part derives from the prevailing attitudes and practices of the journalism community to which they belong. When we examined the attitudes and practices of fellow photojournalists and photo-editors in the second half of Chapter Four, we discerned the existence of a typology of practices –similar to that expressed in Chapter Three– with respect to appropriate uses of technical and artistic adjustments and alterations.

Throughout these chapters it also becomes evident that very little, if any, of a sustained and systematic attempt has been made to examine these elements and their interrelationships, or to assess and assign priorities to their ethical function.

5.1 Integrating the Determinants

Chapter Five undertakes to assemble all the elements thus far discussed in this thesis, and to configure them in a manner which reflects metaphysical differences in the photographic situation: (1) **image–intrinsic elements,** (2) **image-extrinsic or *para-image factors*,** (3) **agent's intent**. This configuring will serve three purposes. First, it will underscore the primacy of the agent's intention and the system of social expectations. Whether as photo-editor or photojournalist, the agent plays a pivotal role in, and is both responsible and

accountable for, decision–making in the alteration of news photographs. Second, it will help to systematize the fragmented body of knowledge with respect to image–ethics. Third, it will provide a concerted and more adequate response to the moral complexity surrounding photographic alteration in the area of photojournalism. When image–related elements and adjustments are interpreted and analyzed in terms of certain distinctions based on the metaphysical realities of the photojournalistic image, we can move a bit closer to a clearer understanding of why, depending on circumstance, some adjustments are acceptable while others are less acceptable.

The first rung of the analysis comprises **image–intrinsic elements** (see section 5.2). These metaphysically situated, image–intrinsic categories are specifically identified to move the analysis beyond a mere technology–or technique–oriented approach toward an image–based approach. Typically, when cases of manipulation are cited, the technology used to make the alteration is singled out and discussed, and a rationale for its use supplied. For example, Douglas Parker discussed how *National Geographic* magazine, in it's1982 series 'Day in the Life of America', digitally compressed the horizontal photo of a cowboy, which showed the moon in the background, in order to fit the vertical format of the magazine cover (See Appendix 1.A). Parker's analysis was focused on the primary technology used, rather than on other technological options (e.g., cloning and repositioning portions of the photo), or on the effect of such technology upon the photograph. It also excluded image–external factors *or para-image factors,* also relevant to making decisions, such as any headline or captions which might accompany the photograph. No mention is given to the role, responsibility, and accountability of the agent involved the decision to use any given technology or technique. This kind of discussion is representative.

This thesis is not the first study to signal the inadequacy of this technology–based approach. Many scholars and writers including Clifford Christians (1985, 1991) and Christopher Harris (1987), have made the point that photographic and digital–imaging technologies are relatively neutral. "The *agent* that uses the technology is *suspect*, not the technology. To say that agents are accountable for their behavior means that *they can be called to judgment* in respect of their obligations" (*italics added,* Christians, 1985, p. 16). These words of wisdom also apply to the vast majority of research on DI technology and photographic manipulations. This thesis proposes that an approach more sensitive to some conventional metaphysical distinctions in the study of image alteration would shift the focus away from the "instrument" or "technique" more deeply into a study of the result, and consequently, of the agent – the person or persons ultimately responsible for the act.

With respect to **image–intrinsic elements**, the principal metaphysical distinctions sometimes mentioned, and most often implied, in the contemporary literature are: (a) primary qualities or physical properties (shape, size, number); (b) spatial relationships (direction, separation, proximity and proportion); (c) secondary physical qualities (colour, hue, light, tone, and shade); and (d) holistic or compositional relationships (context, background, and narrativity)[16]. Also implied in the contemporary literature is a descending or sliding ethical–scale with respect to the effect of an alteration on a particular component or part of a photograph. Although there may be disputes as to the proper label to ascribe to various picture elements, a photograph can also be broken down into three

[16] The distinction between primary qualities (including spatial relationships) and secondary qualities has figured prominently in the history of early empirical philosophy. Though rarely invoked today, we believe that it has fruitful application in this particular analysis.

distinguishable component modalities: (i) *free-standing primary components* (i.e., the primary element or focus of photograph); (ii) *free-standing secondary components* (e.g., background objects such as a house or tree); and, (iii) *non-free-standing components* (e.g., the sky, a shadow).

The metaphysical distinctions or categories offered in this section are by no means exhaustive. The need for a metaphysical approach to the study of image alteration in photojournalism comes from the realization that within the industry it is often agreed upon that some alterations are more tolerable than others (see Chapter Four), without understanding or supplying a more deep–structured rationale for those agreements. For instance, a majority in the photojournalism community –according to Sheila Reaves's surveys– say that manipulating the central figure in a photograph is less desirable than removing a distracting element from the background. Similarly, removing a contextual object (for example, a beverage can), is less desirable than colour–correcting the sky. Thus, what photojournalists and photo-editors really indicate through their writings and practices is that they are less tolerant toward alterations affecting *free-standing primary components*, and more tolerant of alterations having to do *with free-standing, secondary components* or *non–free-standing, components*. Acknowledging the industry's incipient ethical value system, this thesis moves one step forward to situate these generally accepted attitudes and values with a metaphysical re–categorization.

The second stage of this analysis comprises of ***para-image factors*** (see section 5.3). This category includes different image–external factors affecting decision–making processes related to the generation and context of the photojournalistic image, such as: selection, sizing, placement, layout, and accompanying headline or photographic caption. While the image is not reducible

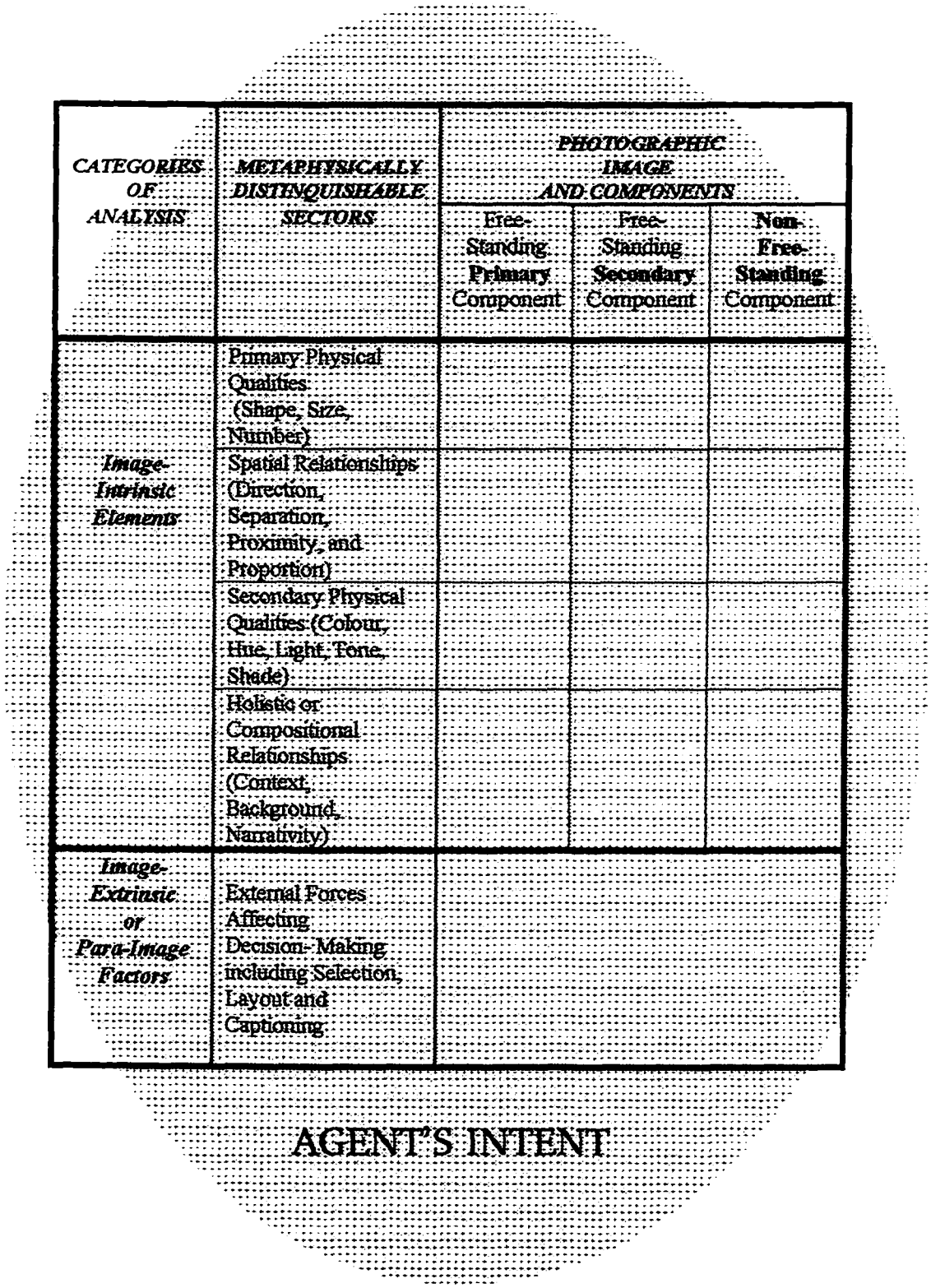
to these factors, that is, it can stand alone and disclose a meaningful narrative, these para–image factors are none-the-less determinants of the image. They contribute to, and can exert an effect upon, the photograph's narrativity, the way a photograph is interpreted by the reader, and its ethical character.

The third component of the analysis is **agent's intent** (see section 5.4). This category, as enhanced by Lorraine Code's remarks on responsibility, touches on the centrality of truth and truthfulness in news re–presentation. Since the 1970s, critical scholars have challenged the foundations of photojournalism ethics. At the heart of the critique lies the definition of truth. Sociologists and anthropologists, among others, have questioned whether photographs really can have any special claim to truth (Becker, 1978; Worth, 1981). Others have cast doubt on the documentary reliability of photojournalism (Hardt, 1991). Acknowledging this newer skepticism, several scholars have hinted at ways photojournalism can be practiced in light of this contemporary critique (Jensen, 1992; Barnhurst, 1993). Although these scholars call into question some commonplace assumptions about photojournalism's adherence to truth, they do not seem to minimize or deny the importance of pictures in newspapers and magazines. On the contrary, many recognize that the photojournalist's image is an influential medium, and that photojournalists, photo-editors, and news publishers, hold responsibility in assuring a truthful re–presentation. This thesis emphasizes this particular aspect of contemporary critique because the centrality of the agent's choice throughout the entire process is the centre of gravity in any meaningful integration of moral determinants.

Chart 1.2 provides an illustrative taxonomy that visually facilitates the analysis of image alterations. It is based on the hierarchy of ethical values implicit in the industry's writings and responses to surveys and questionnaires. It is

important to note the position of the agent in respect to the two other categories of analysis; the agent affects, and is affected by, image-intrinsic and image-extrinsic factors. It is a fluid and reciprocal relationship that will be addressed in greater detail in Section 5.4.

CHART 1.2 : A Metaphysically Oriented Approach to the Study of Image Alterations



5.2 *Image-Intrinsic Metaphysical Distinctions: A New Approach to Understanding Photographic Alterations*

What can be learned from the metaphysically based analysis of photographic violations and from the criticisms levied at the violators? We learn from Sheila Reaves (1987; 1991, 1993, 1995) and others, including Christopher Harris (1991), Vicki Goldberg (1991), and Edwin Martin (1987; 1991), that central free-standing primary objects are the most protected elements of a photograph followed by free-standing secondary objects, and non-free-standing components. This much is indicated by photojournalists and photo-editors in their writings, practices, and surveys. A key determinant of whether or not photojournalists and photo-editors would use a particular technique to alter a photograph is what kind of component is being altered; central or primary objects, secondary objects or background, contextual objects. For example, photojournalists and photo-editors are less concerned about tree branches being removed from a photograph than they are about free-standing primary objects, such as people, being removed or altered. Some 'realists' would assert that removing any element is undesirable. However, we know that within the industry, such manipulations have taken place in the past, and most likely will continue to take place in the future. There is something intrinsically valuable and essential about primary objects that warrants preservation. Altering the central figure of a photograph affects the integrity and thus the veracity of the image. Perhaps this is why industry insiders and critics alike were incensed by the Tydings/Browder case[17] the Kerrigan/Harding case[18] and the Cruise/Hoffman case[19]. All these

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[17] New York Post, Sept. 19, 1951, ran a composite photograph of U.S. Senator Millard Tydings together with Earl Browder, former head of the American Communist party. (See Appendix 1.B)

[18] New York Newsday, February 16, 1994, ran on its front page a composite photograph of two separate photographs of Olympians Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya

cases involved the removal and relocation of primary objects into another context. As such, they substantially altered the narrative and thereby prompted a belief in combinations that had never existed. Nor was any notice ever given that the image had been reconstructed using elements from different photographs (Wheeler, Gleason, 1995). In the Tydings/Browder case, the composite image appearing to implicate Senator Tydings in communist associations contributed to his losing his seat in the U.S. Congress. Taking into account the outrage expressed by writers, critics, and industry workers, the outright removal of a primary object from a photograph is the most ethically offensive action associated with alteration.

Perhaps the *only* action considered more disturbing than the outright montage is when objects are not only removed from their context and pasted to another background, but are also substantially altered in the process. With the Winfrey/Margaret montage[20], not only had *TV Guide* changed the context and narrative of two previously existing subjects –Oprah Winfrey and Ann Margaret– but substantial changes were made to the subjects themselves. Oprah's body and Ann Margaret's head were discarded at a whim, and the two women were fused together. Producing this photograph also required sophisticated digital–imaging equipment for the use of highly refined colouring treatments, so that Oprah's dark skin could be blended with Ann Margaret's light skin. Apologists such as Fred Ritchen (1990) claimed that readers were not fooled by the montage and, since *TV*

Harding so as to make the skaters appear together before either had set foot on the ice of Lillehammer (Wheeler, Gleason, 1995). (See Appendix 1.C).

19 Newsweek, January 16, 1989, featured a computer–joined photograph of Tom Cruise (photographed in Hawaii) and Dustin Hoffman (photographed in New York) for a story on their film Rain Man.

20 TV Guide ran on one of its 1989 covers a photograph composed of television talk show host Oprah Winfrey's head on the body of screen star Ann Margaret (Kobre, 1991).

Guide is not a news publication, it was not bound by the same photographic standards. This rejoinder carries some weight since, as we have seen in Chapter Four, presentational context (e.g., the reputation of the publication) is an important factor in decisions to alter photographs and in the public's belief in the image's veracity. *TV Guide,* that is, has greater latitude in this sort of invention.

Even staging, which often requires no technological support, alters the image content. For example, Jacob Riis was said to have torn clothing and added dirt to the faces of poor children to further his social agenda, and W. Eugene Smith was said to have convinced subjects in his 'Spanish Village' photo–story for *Life* magazine to dress and act in a certain way (Goldberg, 1991). These were examples of rearranging secondary physical qualities prior to recording the image on film. By adding and highlighting symbols of abuse and poverty, these changes, albeit qualitative, are still serious enough to add weight to the narrative. In another case, Norman Zeiloft a photographer from *the St. Petersburg Times* asked a barefoot student to print "Yeah, Eckerd" on his feet (See Appendix 1.D). Zeiloft's decision to stage the photo and not tell his editor, cost him his job.

What can be learned from the photojournalistic community once we structure our analysis with this overlay of distinctions? It becomes apparent that indeed primary free-standing objects are the most protected element of the photograph, followed by secondary free-standing objects and non–free–standing objects. Thus, photojournalists' and photo-editors' tolerance towards photographic alterations is dependent, in part, on which *kind* of component of the photograph is affected. This can also be seen in terms of the different metaphysical sub–categories to be further discussed in this section which include: **primary qualities or physical properties** (shape, size, number); **spatial relationships** (direction, separation, proximity, and proportion); **secondary**

physical qualities (colour, hue, light, tone, and shade); and **holistic or compositional relationships** (context, background, and narrativity).

Primary qualities or physical properties, refers to alterations affecting the shape, size, and/or numbers of objects in the image. *Rolling Stone* Magazine (March 28, 1985) featured a photograph promoting the television series *Miami Vice* (See Appendix 1.E). The original photograph of Don Johnson had him appearing with a shoulder-strap gun holster. The removal of the gun holster, directed by the public relations department of the television network, clearly modified the narrative of the original photograph. The network believed the photo promoted excessive violence (Kobre, 1991). However, from a strict realist position, removing the holster was a direct violation of a primary free-standing object from another primary object, Mr. Johnson. In order to remove the gun and holster, a sophisticated computer program was used to isolate the object (the gun and holster), and remove it from the original photograph. In order to replace the empty space left behind, part of Mr. Johnson's sweater and skin had to be 'cloned' or 'copied', and positioned over the empty space. Detailed colour techniques were then used to touch up the area so it would not be noticed by the reader. In another case involving the celebrated photograph of the "Men Raising the American Flag at Iwo Jima", an important element in the photograph was altered. This, too, was staged. The original flag was judged too small so the photographer cut it from the original photograph and replaced it with a fuller and larger photograph of the U.S. Flag. And in another case, "The Royal Wedding Parade" (See Appendix 1.F), editors wanted a more aesthetically pleasing photo of Prince Charles and his new bride riding in a horse drawn carriage. They cloned one of the two original horsemen in full dress riding behind the newlyweds, and

repositioned the cloned image to make it appear as if three horsemen were behind the newlyweds, not two.

The second metaphysical sub–category in the analysis is **spatial relationships** and includes such elements as direction, separation, proximity, and proportion. Using again the example of Raisa Gorbachev and Nancy Reagan (see Appendix 1.G), *Time* magazine in its 'Picture of the Week' cover of November 25, 1985, cut an original photograph of the two women and resituated them to make them appear closer, both in physical proximity and in personal relations, than they actually were. In other words, *Time* editors tampered with the narrative of the photograph by manipulating the spatial relationship of the two primary free-standing objects. *National Geographic* (February, 1982), too, violated the spatial relationship of existing objects in a cover photo by making the pyramids of Egypt appear closer than they really are. In this case, the two repositioned objects, however, can also be viewed as secondary free-standing objects, since there was a line of camels and riders as primary subject in the foreground. In order to fit the photograph within the vertical layout of the magazine, editors decided to place the two pyramids closer, removing from the photograph any other non-free standing object that otherwise might have been there.

The third metaphysical sub–category in the hierarchy refers to **secondary physical qualities** such as colour, hue, light, tone, and shade. According to Reaves, newspaper and magazine editors are more tolerant toward manipulating secondary physical qualities such as colour and tone. At first it would appear that alterations involving colour, tone, light, and shade, do not affect the original image as much as alterations involving primary physical qualities and spatial relationships. However, there have been examples where an alteration of colour has had a dramatic impact on the narrative of the impression generated by the

photograph. Modifications of secondary qualities does not detract from the image's narrativity: it simply enhances or intensifies the impact of certain visual qualities. For example, *Time's* editors chose to digitally darken O.J. Simpson's mug shot for their June 27, 1994 cover (See Appendix 1.H). Some critics wrote to *Time* because they believed the darkened photograph was an attempt to make Mr. Simpson appear more menacing and criminal. As a result, many members of the African–American community were offended by Time's decision to alter the photograph, especially since *Time's* biggest competitor, *Newsweek,* did not to alter the original photograph. Thus, equal care should be exercised when altering the primary free-standing object's secondary physical qualities. According to Reaves's interviews of many members of the photojournalistic community, the vast majority do not think anything is wrong with altering what we are calling the secondary physical qualities of secondary or background objects and non-free standing objects such as the sky. For example, John F. Kennedy's famous inaugural photo shot from the point of view (POV) behind Kennedy as he turned and pointed over the vast audience of onlookers, is an example of the dodging and burning technique discussed in Chapter Three. In the photograph there is a white glow appearing around Kennedy. The white glow is the direct result of a purposeful underexposure of secondary free-standing objects in the background– the audience– and a normal exposure of Kennedy in the foreground. One of the most frequent alterations admitted to by photojournalists and photo-editors (Reaves, 1995), involves altering secondary physical qualities of a non-free-standing objects. In 1985, staff from the *Orange County Register,* as well as from other printed media, claimed that they did nothing wrong when they altered the colour of the sky by making it appear bluer in its pictures of the explosion of the Space shuttle Challenger because the intent was not to deceive the public but to show the sky more as it appeared on TV (Elliot, 1991, p. 237). Altering the sky made

the explosion of the Space shuttle stand out more clearly, and did not distract one whit from the original narrative of the photograph.

Finally, the fourth metaphysical sub–category, **holistic or compositional relationships** includes such elements as context, background, and narrativity itself. Based on the survey of photo-editors and photojournalists, holistic or compositional elements are the least protected category of metaphysical elements. Numerous cases of alteration exist to prove this point. For example, *Time* (1984) saw it fit to remove a radio aerial which appeared to protrude from Olympic athlete Mary Decker's head because they thought is was distracting. *Life* Magazine (May, 1995), printed an altered Pulitzer Prize photo showing Mary Ann Vecchio screaming as she kneels over the body of student Jeffery Miller during the shooting at Kent State University on May 4, 1970 (see Appendix 1.I). The original photo shows a fence post appearing behind the Vecchio's head; the photo appearing in *Life* does not. At some point, someone decided to airbrush out these secondary free-standing objects– the fence-posts– thereby affecting the narrative of the original photo because the posts indicate or suggest that there were some physical boundaries in place. Similarly, the *St. Louis Post–Dispatcher* ran a photograph of a fireman and his family the day after he had rescued a child from a fire. The newspaper editors chose to digitally remove a Diet Coke can –a contextual element– from the table in the foreground, and to fill in the empty space with elements duplicated from the same photograph's background (Goldberg, 1991, p. 99, 101).

The metaphysical sub–categories described above are by no means exhaustive or exclusive. They do however serve to illustrate with greater clarity the effect that most alterations have on the photograph itself, and ultimately on its narrativity. A mere technology–based approach was unable to bridge the

theoretical lacuna often cited and sometimes described by writers and scholars in the field of photojournalism. With the metaphysical approach we can move beyond specific camera and mechanical techniques. Thus, we are no longer as troubled either by the possible perplexity arising from the continuum of appropriate uses each technique presented (see Chapter Four). By looking to the end product – the photograph– the image-intrinsic sub-categories help us to see with greater clarity what effect traditional alterations (e.g., exposure adjustments, POV, lens choice, filter choice, staging, dodging and burning), or more contemporary and digital alterations, have on the photojournalist's photograph. From exposure adjustment, to staging, to DI technology, various kinds of alterations can be situated under this or that metaphysical sub-category and not simply as a result of a technique employed. Consequently, we can with a little more confidence attach weight and ethical value to a number of photographic alterations.

In summary, when certain photographic alterations are conceptualized in terms of metaphysical properties, and also as components of an image, and with a view to the image's integrity or narrativity, we can better understand why some alterations are more tolerated than others. Sorting out photographic violations in terms of these metaphysical distinctions, offers the reader a more grounded approach to the ethical judgments about the alteration of photographs in newspapers and magazines.

5.3 Image-Extrinsic or Para-Image Factors

More contributes to a photojournalistic narrativity– what the photograph asserts –than what is recorded by the camera. The photojournalistic narrative, comprising both image–intrinsic and image–extrinsic elements, is also considered truthful and credible because of the historical covenant photojournalism has with

the public. The public expects that the photographs offered by the photojournalistic community fairly and accurately correspond to actual news–events.

Now photographs appearing in newspapers and magazines seldom appear alone. There are a number of image–extrinsic or *para–image factors* which accompany the photograph and contribute to the photograph's narrativity: headlines, bylines, accompanying text, layout, position, and captioning. These are considered image–extrinsic factors because, more often than not, they do not enter into the image's borders, but nonetheless are important for understanding or interpreting the image. They can also called *para–image* factors because they work beside or along with the image to make a visual statement. This major category of *para–image* factors, comprises external factors affecting, or contributing to, the photojournalist's photographic narrativity. They include: (1) *selection*, (2) *layout*, and (3) *captioning*; of which the first two will be addressed together. All of these areas are routinely covered in many college courses and textbooks (e.g., Evans, 1978; MacDougall and Hampton, 1990; Kobre, 1991, 1995). However, these courses and textbooks have a tendency to stress aesthetic ideals over ethical values. This chapter concentrates instead on the constitutive ethical role that each of these three elements plays in the photographic narrative.

A key area of *para–image* factors is to *photographic selection*. In a typical photographic assignment the photojournalist may frame over one hundred shots, and choose to engage the shutter about thirty–six times in order to record the news–event on film or on computer disk (Kobre, 1995). Thus, he or she omits sixty–four possible shots on location. *This act of selection or pre–shutter editing can be regarded as judgment number one.* As discussed in Chapter Four, the photojournalists engage in an "way of seeing" which is quite different from

ordinary perception, one which enables them to judge what they see through the view finder in terms of the eventual print. The photojournalists' eye turns into a kind of instrument of judgment, and they act accordingly, capturing on film only those images believed to fulfill their own and the news organizations expectations. Upon developing the rolls of film– or instead, upon recording and digitizing the images– the photojournalist may, due to personal preference or visible technical error in the photograph, disregard some of the frames. Perhaps some of the photographs are too dark or too light to be of any use; perhaps the central subject moved during the exposure, thereby producing a blurry image. In any case, the photojournalist will select only a dozen or so actual frames to give to the photo-editor. *This act of selection, omission, or post–shutter editing, can be regarded as judgment number two.* Upon receiving the dozen or so photographs from the photojournalist, the photo-editor must decide which photograph or photographs to include with the story. *This act of selection and editing is done by a second agent and can be regarded as judgment number three.* Newspaper photo-editors usually select only one photograph to accompany a story; magazine photo-editors often have the luxury, with feature articles, to select more than one photograph (Kobre, 1991). The photojournalist and the photo-editor become "gatekeepers": they decide for us which photographic images will be the news sources and which will be omitted. The act of selection and editing is thus unavoidably an ethically–charged responsibility since it chooses what viewers ought to see.

The second key area of *para–image* factors is *photographic layout.* For instance, depending on how powerful the image appears to be, or how important the story might be, the photo-editor must engage in additional ethically–significant decisions. Which page of the newspaper or magazine will the photograph appear on: front, back or middle pages? How large will the photograph be and how much

attention shall he let it command? What headline and caption should accompany the photograph? *These acts of placement or layout, resizing, editing, and captioning, can be regarded as judgments number four, five, six, and seven, respectively.* Any one of them nudges the viewer's interpretation.

The third key area of *para-image* factors is photographic *captioning.* Photographs appearing in newspapers and magazines seldom appear alone. Typically they are accompanied by text: a headline, by-line, or caption. The study of the relationship between words and images has historically focused on the arts and literature (Barnhurst, 1993), but photojournalism too has long been closely tied to language (Hicks, 1973; Barthes, 1981). Journalistic captions- text which accompanies photographs- use a specialized set of language conventions. Instead of merely situating the pictures as individually-authored work, press captions steer the reader's attention to the image content and affect the readers interpretation of the photograph.

Most often a photojournalist's photograph is brought into the news publication with a sentence identifying the individuals depicted, telling what they are doing, specifying when the event took place and where. The photographer's name, if it appears at all, is set smaller than normal reading text, and arranged unobtrusively on its side (Barnhurst, 1993, p. 59). Photographs, by their nature, tend to promote the metaphor of transparency: The photographer does not seem to intervene between the reader and the content. Authorship is suppressed, creating an "audience/message" relation of intimacy wherein, the status of the photograph appears to slip into the realm of unmediated information (Sless, 1981). Layout and accompanying caption appear to share in the photograph's seeming objectivity. But the act of describing in words what the photograph re-

presents is an act of interpretation, thus, subject to individual and social bias and interpretation. Layout and captions appear unmediated, but they are not.

Captioning is also an ethically constitutive act which has a direct effect on the photographs' narrative. Besides identifying the *who, what, when*, and *where* of the news event, journalistic captions and headlines amplify and direct the pictures' meanings. Barthes (1982, p. 27) says that text has now begun to illustrate the news–image, as opposed to older types of images, which mostly served to illustrate the text. As Kevin Barnhurst asserts, "One assumption behind headlines and captions is that a picture reflects a reality, which can be named and described. A caption that depends on the image also shares in its objectivity" (Barnhurst, 1993, p. 59), or at least *some* of that quality of objectivity. The text that accompanies a photo appears only to describe and give name to objects in the photograph. There appears to be no intent on behalf of the writer to sway the viewer. As Stuart Hall (1981) has suggested, however, the caption conveys one particular interpretation, which ties the picture not only to news values, but also to the larger myths of the culture. In other words, captions restate what a photograph shows, and also implies what it is about, so as to modify meaning and interpretation in ways that can imperceptibly reduce the photograph's assumed objectivity. In lay terms, even the most seemingly truthful and objective photograph can be compromised by a false or misleading headline or caption. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was once photographed with his face in his hands at a hearing in which the Marine commandant in the picture inadvertently called Lebanon "Vietnam". The *Associated Press* caption said Shultz was reacting to the general's verbal slip. The television tape of the hearing showed that the still photograph had been taken *before* the general's slip of the tongue and *Associated Press* subsequently sent a correction (Rivers & Mathews, 1988, p. 143). Therefore, even if the photographic

image is not technically altered, the photograph and its para–image components can still be misleading and deceptive.

Accordingly, when discussing the ethics of image alteration in photojournalism readers should be aware that discussions around 'the photograph' include much more than what is recorded by the camera. *Para–image* elements such as *selection, layout* and *captioning,* amplify and modify the photographs narrativity, and, consequently, its assumed truthfulness.

> It is plausible to think that a photograph – or any picture – is not capable, by itself, of making an assertion. Though a picture may represent objects, and re–present them as being in various relationships, it does not thereby assert anything about the existence or relationships of objects. Though pictures may describe or depict a propositional content, they do not assert that content to be real. It is only a picture in conjunction with an accompanying presentational context or an explicit statement of significance which makes a statement or has assertional meaning (Martin, 1987, p. 50).

Assertional meaning, as described by Edwin Martin, can be misleading, false, and deceptive; just as it can be truthful, fair, and accurate. Therefore any discussions surrounding para–image factors should also include a discussion of ethics.

Relatively little has been written, or said, regarding the ethicality of decision–making processes arising from image–intrinsic and para–image alterations. Writers and scholars tend to focus on photographic alteration techniques: how to shoot and edit aesthetically pleasing photographs, and how to write a caption newspaper and magazine editors will accept (Kobre, 1991, 1995; Lester, 1991). Photojournalists and photo-editors learn to shoot and edit news photographs by reading textbooks, attending seminars, and from their colleagues. There has been an ethics void in educating and training photojournalists and writers, and only recently has ethical discussion begun to appear in general photojournalism textbooks (Chapnick, 1994; Kobre, 1991, 1995; Lester, 1991).

Photojournalists and photo-editors should be made aware of their highly influential, if subtle, participation in the news; and although they do not entirely control the process, they need to understand how their participation creates and distorts, as well as reports, the news.

5.4 Agent's Intent

So far we have examined image–intrinsic and para–image factors. The third and most determining factor in our discussion is the agent– –the photojournalist and photo-editor. In the literature review of the history of photojournalism and the emergence of photojournalism ethics, two important *themes* emerged: 1) truthful, fair, and accurate photography is expected by the public; and, 2) the agents, those individuals involved in the photojournalistic process, bear an increasing responsibility for ensuring the veracity of the photojournalistic photograph.

Photojournalism has social value because it is a vital element in information–gathering and news–coverage and, therefore, it is a socially, politically, and culturally consequential medium. Upon the photojournalist rests the *responsibility* and *duty* of recording a true image of the world as it is today (Rothstien, 1986, p. 63). From its inception, the photograph was seen as a direct cast of reality, a mechanical means by which nature could reproduce herself. When photography began to be used in news reportage, it was believed it could supply something that words could not: an unmediated record of events, people, and places. This is partly why the photograph has been invested with so much epistemic power, since it initially appeared that 'photographs can not lie'. The public's faith in photographs continued well into the twentieth century, despite cases of known fakes. Consequently, the profession, especially through its own

emerging codes and conventions, acknowledges and reinforces that element of public trust. But trust is a fragile good:

> . . . basic trust is a tenuous and fragile construct, tacit and implicit though it may be. It is always open to violation by the very things that create and sustain it: belief in other people, confidence that much of what they tell us can be taken at face value, reliance upon our ability to assess their credibility. People are fallible, credulous, and deceitful (Code, 1987, p. 173).

If people are as fallible, credulous, and deceitful, as Code asserts, then it is no wonder that recent advances in photographic technology, e.g., Digital Imaging (DI) technology, should also raise concerns in an industry where truthfulness and credibility are canons. Yesterday the industry did not feel the pressure, as much as it does today, to address photographic alterations since the vast majority of photographic alterations and manipulations were generally detectable. DI technology now makes it almost impossible to detect photographic alterations. This places an additional burden on the photojournalistic community to assure the veracity of their photographs. According to John Tagg (1988), members of the profession of photojournalism accept this *burden of representation*. Howard Chapnick (1994) also states that, "[c]ameras don't lie, people do. But *responsible* photographers *should try* to photograph things as they are, not the way they would like them to be" (*italics added,* Chapnick, 1994, p. 312).

At present, there are no laws legislating that news photographs have to be truthful re–presentations. Instead, the journalism community has opted to write codes of ethics and guidelines for news–employees. In 1990, for the first time in its history, the National Press Photography Association (NPPA in U.S.) addressed manipulation in its Code of Ethics, when it stated that "it is the individual *responsibility* of every photojournalist at all times to strive for pictures that report

truthfully, honestly, and *objectively*" (NPPA, 1990, p. 98). The NPPA addressed the concern about computer–assisted manipulation in a direct manner by issuing the following statement:

> As journalists we believe the guiding principle of our profession is accuracy, therefore, we believe it wrong to alter the content of a photograph in any way that deceives the public.
>
> As photojournalists we have the responsibility to document society and to preserve its images as a matter of historic record. It is clear that the emerging electronic technologies provide new challenges to the integrity of photographic manipulation of the content of an image in such a way that the change is virtually undetectable. In light of this, we, the National Press Photographers Association, reaffirm the basis of our ethics: accurate representation is the benchmark of our profession.
>
> We believe photojournalistic guidelines for accuracy currently in use should be the criteria for judging what may be done electronically to a photograph. Altering the editorial content of a photograph, in any degree, is a breach of the ethical standards recognized by the NPPA (NPPA, 1990, p. 2)[21]

The biggest limitation of NPPA's approach to the problem of photographic alteration in news re–presentation is the lack of adequate consensus about or criteria of what constitutes truth and deception in a photograph. Another limitation is that of enforceability: who enforces the codes, and what sanctions should accompany a violation?

Can we expect any photograph– with all the influences exerted by artistic preference, technological limitations and capabilities, and corporate pressures – to

---

[21] The Ontario News Photographers Association (ONPA), founded in 1974, has not yet put out a position paper on digital imaging photography. It has only a broad objective "to promote the business of news photography through education of members and the outside world" (Micromedia Ltd. 1993, Toronto, p. 55).

truthfully re–present reality? A photograph is no guarantee of a corresponding pre–photographic existence. The indexical nature of the photograph – the causative link between the pre–photographic referent and the sign itself – is highly complex and technical, and may guarantee relatively little at the level of referential meaning (Tagg, 1988). Ultimately it is the *reputation of the photographer*, and that of his or her publication, that does so much to support the social expectation that the photograph is accurate and that it corresponds to the reality of a news story. What makes the photojournalist's photograph an acceptable piece of evidence, then, is the confluence of *technical, social, cultural, historical,* and *ethical* developments, by which particular optical and digital devices are set to work in order to organize experience and produce a new reality. At the centre of this conundrum, the *quality of choice* exercised by photojournalists and photo-editors is fundamental.

> . . . Preserving an appropriate degree of objectivity, thinking clearly, and being epistemically responsible are, in fact, moral matter . . . Knowing well and seeing accurately . . . are constant demands that permeate all, or almost all, aspects of our lives. They might even be taken to be intrinsically, and not just instrumentally, good (Code, 1987, pp. 68, 71).

What Lorraine Code says about the ethics of knowing has relevance and application here as well since the photographer's role is to supply us with perceivables. The "epistemic responsibility" of which she speaks (and which constitutes a new direction in recent epistemology) applies to both the knower (perceiver) and to the one supplying the knowables or percepts. It applies then to the composite photographic agent – the photographer and photo-editor– who is responsible all along for knowing that and knowing how manifold image–intrinsic and para–image features alter the photograph and its informational value for the viewer. This quality of professional awareness is not something intermittent,

something that obtains as the whim strikes. Rather, the professional photojournalist's responsibility both for the image's instructional value and, therefore, for the viewer's degree of instruction is really at the heart of all the other choices made about cropping, dodging and burning, captioning, and so forth. In short, epistemic responsibility is the conceptually unbreakable chain or constant that runs through all the photojournalist's choices. Particular choices, of course, may be irresponsible and unethical, but that does not erase the ineluctable core of epistemic responsibility embedded within each selection and alteration. That responsibility, we have seen, is broadly grounded as well in a manifold of historical trust, public expectation, journalistic canons and an evolved body of photojournalistic standards and practices. The individual photojournalist's epistemic responsibility, then, is neither absolute nor isolated: it is ultimately anchored, as Code shows epistemic responsibility generally to be, in a community of like-minded practitioners who practice their craft well. Good practices, shared professional standards, and epistemic responsibility, in photography as elsewhere, combine in a pattern of benign circularity.

By the same token, epistemic responsibility extends as well to the wider community of professional photojournalists. That, we have seen in each chapter of this thesis, is something that has been developing slowly, more rapidly perhaps now that ethical awareness has moved into textbook and scholarly literature. This writer would like to think that her thesis represents another step, well beyond her initial confusion, in the process of increasing ethical awareness.

CONCLUSIONS

From photography's inception, the public has been encouraged to accept the premise that the photograph was an objective and truthful record. This expectation is an important reason why photographic alteration in news has always been an ethical issue. Our review of how photojournalists have attempted to understand alterations and secure truthfulness in their work has led us to examine the history of photographic technology and its influence on news reportage (Chapter One); the evolution of ethical awareness in photojournalism (Chapter Two); the complex range of Digital Imaging (DI) technology and other techniques associated with image alteration (Chapter Three); and finally, the industry's views on photojournalism ethics and the appropriate use of photographic techniques in news representation (Chapter Four).

In the process, Chapters One through Four gradually disclose some foundations for making ethical evaluations. Practitioners themselves and commentators have identified a number of these elements and principles within the domain of photo–image ethics usually in a piecemeal and disconnected fashion. What we have done in this thesis is to identify and highlight the ethical determinants which slowly emerged over one and a half centuries within the profession. All along we noticed very little in the way of a sustained and systematic attempt by practitioners and even by the academic community to examine these elements in their interconnectedness. Principles and even standards were enunciated, but little was done to weave all this together into some kind of whole fabric. This thesis is an early attempt to weave together the thoughts, suggestions, and written treatments surrounding the issue of

photographic alteration in news reportage, and to present these determinants in a clearer, more integrated approach.

On this historical base, this thesis supplies an integrated three–tiered approach to formulating a schema of ethical determinants related to photographic adjustment culminating in a broad statement about the central and continuous responsibility of the photojournalistic agent. This approach takes seriously into account (1) the metaphysical elements of the image, (2) the importance para–image factors play in the ethics of photographic alteration, and (3) the responsibility of the photojournalistic community.

The first level of ethical determinants unfolds in a study of image adjustment using a number of conventional philosophical distinctions (such as object, property, primary and secondary qualities, etc.). It shows that when image–elements are interpreted in terms of certain conventional "metaphysical" distinctions, we can move closer towards greater clarity, and a more grounded understanding of why some adjustments are acceptable and why others are not. The principal distinctions, sometimes mentioned, often only implied in the contemporary literature on photography are: (1) primary qualities or physical properties such as shape, size, and number; (2) spatial relationships including direction, proximity, and proportion; (3) secondary physical qualities such as colour, hue, light, tone, and shade; (4) holistic or compositional relationships including context, background and narrativity. In addition, we also adduce the component statuses in a photograph which include free-standing primary objects, free-standing secondary objects, and non-free-standing objects. These distinctions are useful in helping us assign moral weights to a range of image–intrinsic alterations.

The second level of ethical consideration relates to the photograph's para–image factors which so easily affect the photograph's narrativity. Although little had been written about para–image determinants, this thesis attempts to outline, non–exhaustively, a number of factors influencing the photograph's representativeness. These largely contextual factors include selection, layout, and captioning. Readers and viewers expect photojournalists to supply visual records, evidence of the day's happenings. They also expect that important news items will be covered, and that those news items will be weighed in a manner that puts the important news events at the front of the newspaper or magazine. They also expect that any accompanying text, be it a headline or caption, truthfully accords with the photograph. As truthful as a photograph can be, given the limitations previously discussed, a skewed headline or caption can render the photograph deceptive. Therefore, any study of image alteration must also be cognizant of para–image factors that accompany news photographs.

The third ethical tier discloses the centrality of the photojournalist's and the photojournalistic community's ethical responsibility. Whatever altering effect may be exercised by this or that image–intrinsic or para–image feature, there is always a photojournalistic agent behind the selection, choice, or alteration of those features. In short, the agent is the real centre of gravity in establishing the moral determinacy of photographic images. And, because that agency co–determines the viewer's perceptions, that responsibility is intimately epistemic or knowledge related.

Lorraine Code's book *Epistemic Responsibility* (1987), figures heavily in our attempt to interpret this bedrock notion of responsibility, and how it can be seen in combination with image–intrinsic and para–image determinants in the inquiry about the ethical quality of photographic alteration in news re–presentation.

Although Code makes no specific mention of news photography in her book, her approach to knowledge enquiry and the responsibility of the *would–be–knower* in the process, has helped to shape the development of this thesis's methodological approach. Code's theoretical model of responsibility helps us to understand and organize the fragmentary and piecemeal collection of elements in the area of photo/image ethics. The universal appeal of her reconciliation of existing theories of knowledge and approaches to enquiry assists us in outlining a responsibilist approach to the photojournalist's professional knowledge and his/her choices or alterations which have consequences. Her approach best accommodates a dominant principle in this thesis which is to argue that a *just image* arises from a number of possible determinants both within and outside the image, and that the real centre of gravity in all this is the agent's intention and choice. The wider photojournalistic community also shares the burden of responsibility in this area. Photojournalists and the photojournalistic community have a responsibility *to know* what they are doing, what effects any actions they take will have, not only on the photograph itself, but on the photo's representativeness. Ignorance and disregard are not epistemic options.

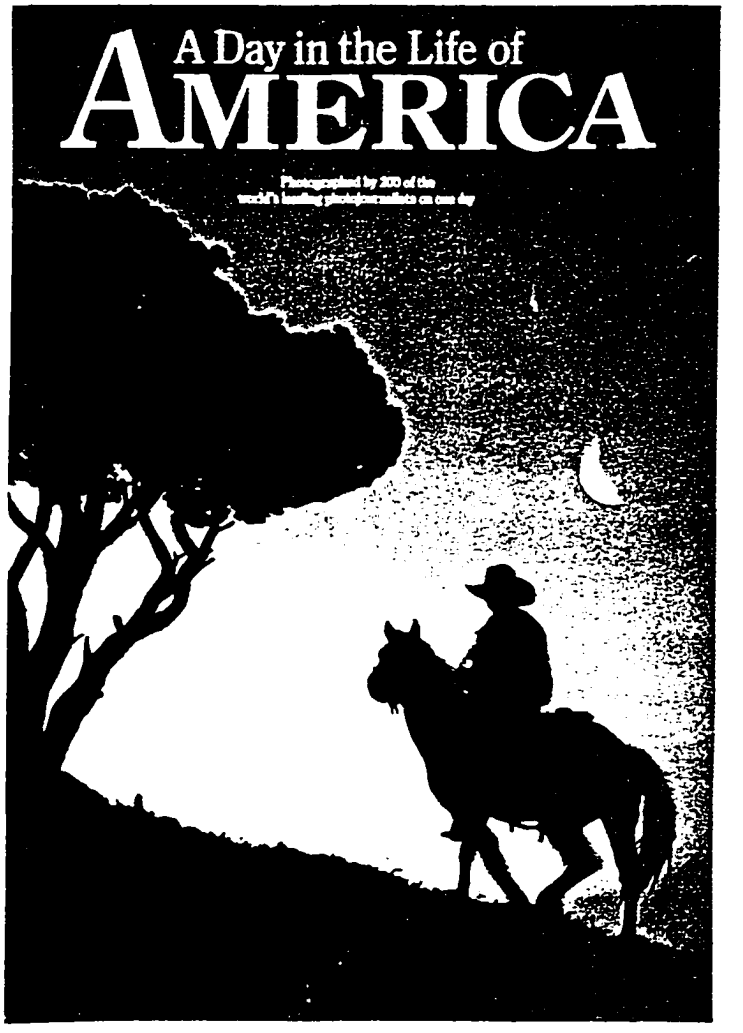
Epistemic responsibility in its integrating function applies at two levels in this thesis. First, it applies directly to the photograph and its use. The photograph, as a visual imprint of events, scenes, and persons, poses as a truthful record. The public believes that photographs offer unmediated information (Sless, 1981). The degree to which that representative role is, or is not, respected, is ultimately a function of the agent's *epistemic responsibility* – where agency extends to the photographer, the photographic editor, or the digital compositor. This quality of *ethical accountability* is greatly underscored by the long history of

assumed truthfulness in the photograph which dates back to the beginning of photography itself.

Second, Code's notion of *epistemic responsibility* and *knowing well* applies *reflexively* to the work of this thesis itself. The decision to study the ethics of photographic alteration and digital imaging in a serious academic fashion instantiates the *responsibility of the communication theorist*. Here, it takes the form of extending the analysis of image–ethics beyond its present fragmentary status in order to secure a more unified and integrated response to modern photographic alteration and its uses. It unfolds, that is, as an academic undertaking that situates image alterations within a history of the profession and its evolving ethical consciousness. What emerges is an integrated schema of determinants at the centre of which lies the agent's intent (see Chapter Five). This reflexive application serves to underscore the unifying role of Code's notion of epistemic accountability both in the profession and in our attempt to formulate its ethical involvement.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1.A



(Right) Cover of *A Day in the Life of America* after computer manipulation of the image.

(Below) Original horizontal photograph by Frans Lanting (May 2, 1986).

APPENDIX 1.B

ONE-MAN MOB—NO. 14:

The Man McCarthy 'Got'

ntinue from Page 2

'ategy was to try to defeat dings rather than to stress tler. At McCarthy's instigation, ig began a whispering cam-ign with the theme that Ty-igs was disloyal or if not dis-al, at least should be defeated cause for unexplained reasons was protecting Communists the government.

The Senate report: "The 'back eet campaign conducted by n-Maryland outsiders was of form and pattern designed to dermine and destroy the pub-' faith and confidence in the uic American loyalty of a well-own figure."

McCarthy and Jonkel realized at it would be impossible to nvince the majority of people such nonsense. However, they alated that perhaps 20 or 25 r cent of the voters were in ubt; if this many people could reached by a whispering cam-ign which said: why be in ubt? play safe and vote for tler—then Tydings was omed.

The Senate report: "It might an exaggeration to call this ark street' campaign a 'big lie' mpaign. But it certainly is no aggeration to call it a 'big ubt' campaign."

Butler was sent on tour mak-g general speeches along cus-mary Republican lines. The ally heavy cannonading against ydings' loyalty and patriotism as done by Senator McCarthy ho stumped the state, by radio mmentator Fulton Lewis Jr., ho has five stations in Mary-nd, and by the Washington imes-Herald which has an ex-nsive Maryland circulation.

• • •

OUR WEEKS BEFORE THE end of the campaign, McCarthy ecided that something more was eeded as a knockout punch. He roposed publishing a four-page ablo'd summing up all the arges against Tydings, partic-

Associated Press Wirephoto

THIS IS THE FAKE—"Composite Picture" of Earl Browder and Sen. Tydings
"Not the usual illustration that you will see in a newspaper."

would have run such a picture in his own newspaper, Tankersley conceded that it is "not the usual illustration that you will use in a newspaper."

Mundy, who was Butler's nominal campaign manager, denounced the photograph later as "stupid, puerile, and in bad taste." Tankersley and the other members of the McCarthy cabal, however, defend it stoutly. McCarthy himself describes it as "a very effective job."

In addition to publication of the tabloid, the Butler campaign wound up with mailing half a million postcards containing last-minute personal messages to the voters written in pen and ink supposedly by Butler himself. These postcards were actually filled in by campaign workers in accord-

eyes looked like they were going to pop out of his head. I said that he was working himself up over nothing . . . I'm tired and I want to go home. (This was about 1 a.m.)

"Surine reached out and jerked me back by the coat. He said, 'Listen, I want that letter back.' I said, 'What letter?' He said, 'The guarantee letter you got from Butler.'

"I told him that he wasn't going to get that letter. He told me if I didn't give him the letter, they would fix me up and put me through a McCarthy investigation. He bragged about being good at that sort of thing. I told him that I couldn't give him the letter even if I wanted to—that this letter was in my attorney's office.

postcards' was not the only purpose of their mission.")

McCarthy's employes did their best to shield the boss when they testified. Moore said he operated under direct orders from George Greeley, McCarthy's administrative assistant, in dealing with Fedder. Moore said his job was to specialize on Senator Tydings' attitude toward Communism. He provided this information to anybody who wanted it, he said, under specific instructions.

"Who gave those instructions?" he was asked.

"I don't remember," said Moore, whose memory had been excellent up to that point.

• • •

RAY KIERMAS, McCARTHY'S office manager, had similar

Herald, and was attende among others, Sen. Owen ster (R-Me.), chairman of th Senatorial Campaign Com and the regular intermedia tween Sen. Taft and the S thy bloc.

As a result of this confe Butler filed five days later plemental report with the tary of the Senate listing $ in previously "overlooked" paign contributions.

To make this move seem la', Jonkel wrote a lett Mundy saying that in the paign he had been "so (that) accurate records we kept in all instances."

Mundy, however, refus sign the supplemental state Jonkel was left to take th alone.

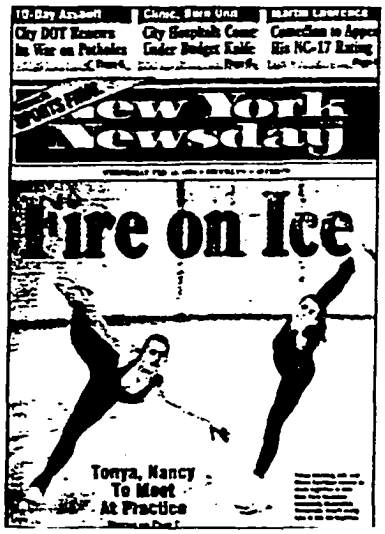
• • •

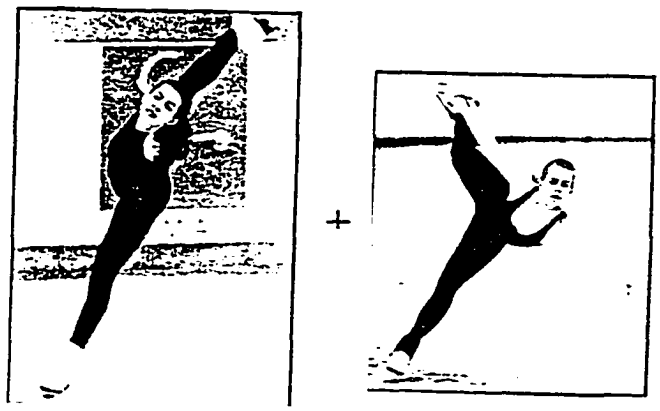
THE FINANCIAL HOCI cus does not end there. check from Bentley, the C er, which McCarthy himse sonally solicited was not over to Mundy. McCarthy to Robert Lee, a McCarthy who has a job as minority of the Senate appropr committee. Lee passed the to his wife who used it t a personal account in he name at the National Bank and then drew on campaign activities. Wh circuitous method was fc and for what campaign pu Mrs. Lee spent the mon never been explained.

(The Senate report: financial irregularities unc by this investigation of th ler campaign were of a s tial nature, involved large of money and were engine the candidate's own manag are impressed with the f are not considering activ enthusiastic supporters candidacy operating from foreign to the candidate

(Above) Earl Browder and Senator Millard Tydings in the composite picture originally published in *From the Record*, 1950. Reproduced in the *New York Post*, September 19, 1951.

APPENDIX 1.C





The competing ice skaters had not practiced together, so *Newsday* editors used the comuter to combine two separate pictures (see above) for the page one picture on the left. (Feb. 16, 1994)

APPENDIX 1.D

(Above) Photograph by Norman Zeiloft, *St. Petersburg Times and Independent.*

APPENDIX 1.E

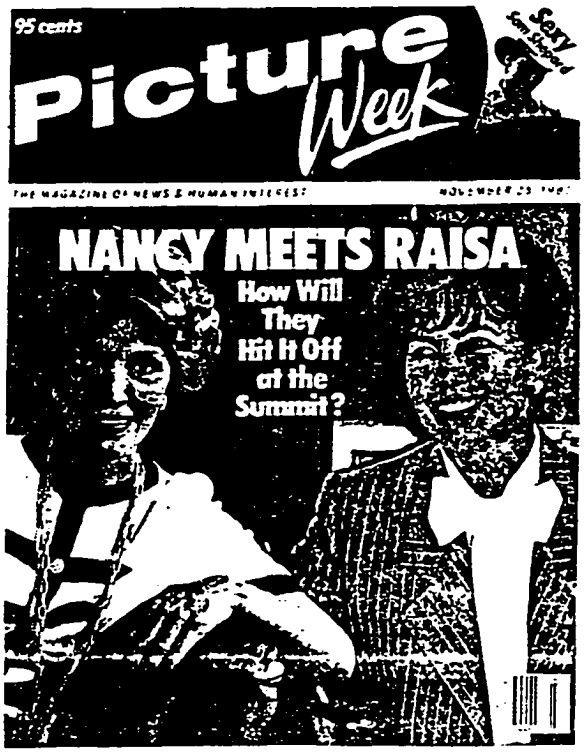
(Left) The original photograph, taken by Deborah Feingold, showed Don Johnson, star of TV show "Miami Vice", wearing a shoulder holster and gun. After the photograph was taken, editors decided to eliminate the gun using computer retouching.

APPENDIX 1.F

Figure 1 Figure 2

(Figure 1) Unembellished image of newlyweds Charles and Diana
(Figure 2) Embellished image has seven alterations. Coutesy of Douglas Kirkland/ Contact and Discover Magazine. April 1983.

APPENDIX 1.G



(Left) For a photo that appears to show Nancy Reagan and Raisa Gorbachev in one room together, the editors of *Time* combined the two photographs with the aid of the computer. Only a two-photograph credit line played inside the magazine gave the deception away to those who bothered to read the small print (From *News Photographer* archives).

APPENDIX 1.H

(Left) While *Newsweek* ran an unalter police "mug shot" of accused murderer O. J. Simpson, *Time* digitally darkened the photo and made him look more foreboding. Readers saw the two images side by side on newstands and were shocked by *Time*'s decision.

Appendix 1.I

(Above) John Filo's Pulitzer Prize photo showing Mary Ann Vecchio screaming as she kneels over the body of student Jeffery Miller at Kent State University on May 4, 1970. The original photo shows a fence post appearing behind the Vecchio's head; the photo appearing in *Life Magazine*, May of 1995, does not.

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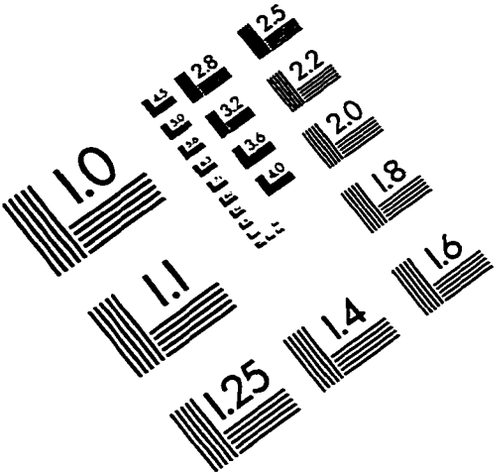
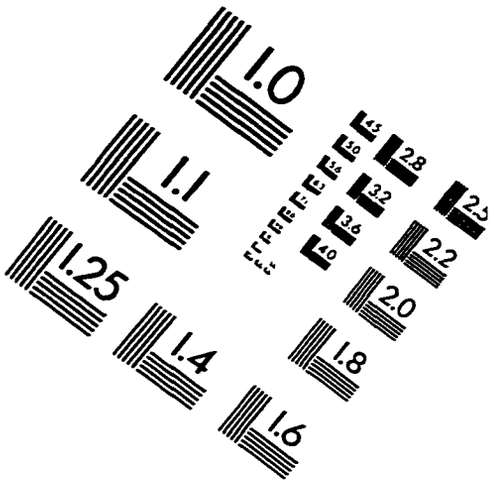
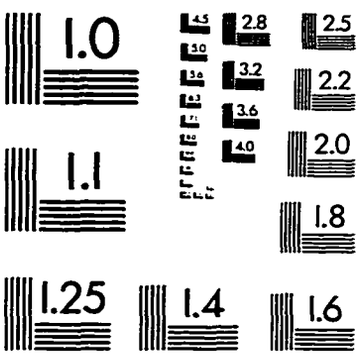
VITA AUCTORIS

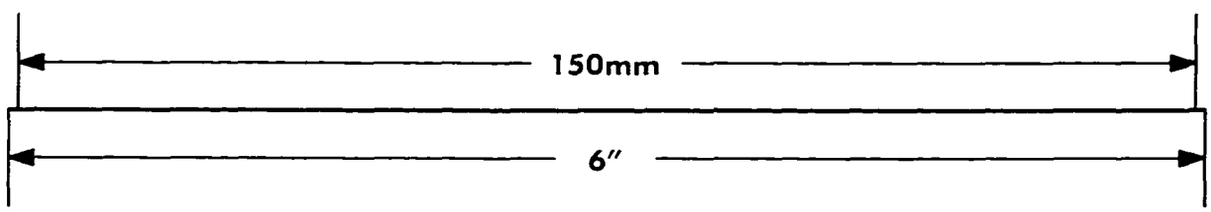
Paula Habas was born in Chatham, Ontario. After graduating from Chatham-Kent Secondary School, Paula completed a 3-year diploma program in Advertising at Mohawk College in Hamilton. Upon completion she began work for various audio-visual, photography, and video production houses in Toronto and surrounding area. Her area of specialty was photography and film/video direction. In 1991, Paula returned to school earning a Bachelor of Arts Degree from the University of Windsor. In 1993 she entered the Graduate program in Communication Studies. This thesis represents the culmination of that effort.

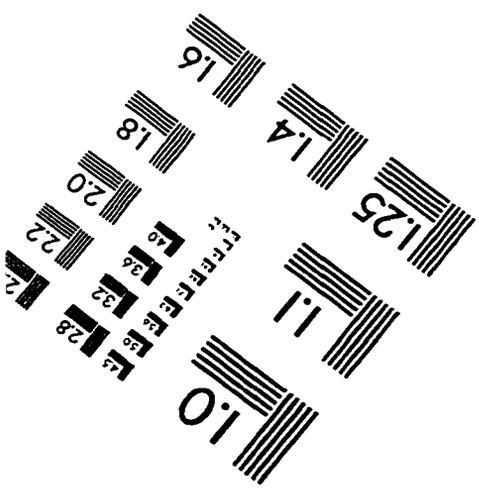
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

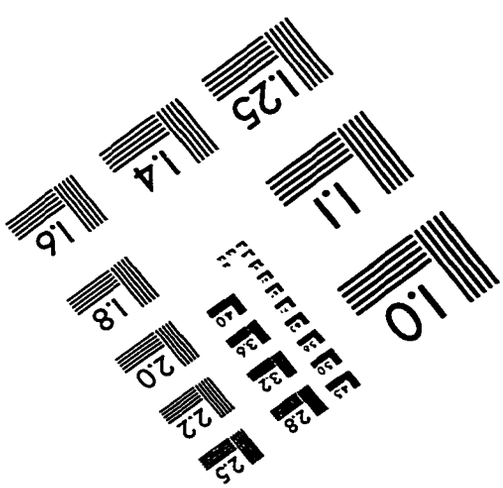












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